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# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*A Journal of Opinion*

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## Our Army

While this issue is being printed, millions of American young men will be registering for conscription—for the first time in peace during the history of this nation. It is true that none will be going to camp for several months, and that then only a small percentage of the registrants will be called. Yet many look upon this grim ceremonial as a prelude to war. None would welcome that—though a few think we ought to fight. But the editors believe that an overwhelming majority of Americans agree with The New Republic in concluding from the events of the past few months that weakness is no guarantee of peace. Being well armed is, in the present world, an essential condition of avoiding war—if it can be avoided. If it cannot be avoided, ample previous training of our manpower is a solemn duty owed by the nation to the young men themselves.

Beyond this, the popular acceptance of compulsory service reposes a trust in those who administer it that they can betray only at their peril—and ours. Military institutions can be a deadly danger, not only to foreign enemies, but to domestic freedom. Ours must be a democratic army, an army from which every man who serves will come back into the community a better democrat and citizen than when he entered it.

## Drang Nach Osten

The whole world is wondering just what Hitler is up to in Rumania. There is no doubt that he has taken over military control and sent in substantial bodies of troops. That he could do so at any time he saw fit was a foregone conclusion when at Vienna he and Mussolini arbitrated the dispute between Rumania and Hungary and pledged aid to protect the Rumanian borders there established. A pledge of aid from Hitler is the standard fore-runner of military occupation. The only thing to prevent him was the possible hostility of the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Union did not dare to move beyond its previously established border on the Prut.

The Germans say they are there only to train the Rumanian army and protect the oil wells against British sabotage. There is a good deal of speculation about a possible Axis drive against Greece and Turkey, in preparation for a move on Syria and Mosul oil, as well as against Suez from the north. But again, the question is asked whether the Soviet Union will permit Hitler to seize the Dardanelles. We should not be surprised if these speculations about war in the Balkans came to nothing—not, however, because the Axis does not move further, but because the Soviet Union again does not dare to break with Germany. In that case Greece and Turkey would be likely not to resist, and Hitler's guarantees would be extended to them, with the usual consequences of a bloodless conquest.

## No Weakening Here

President Roosevelt's radio address to the Americas was a telling reply to the threats embodied in the Japanese-Axis agreement. We in this hemisphere are united and strong; we shall repel all assaults on our institutions or territory. We are not seeking war, but are endeavoring to avoid it by being so well prepared

CONTENTS

The Week . . . . . 539

Editorials
- Shall Europe Be Fed? . . . . . 542
- Democracy at Home . . . . . 544

General Articles
- The Two Blockades . . . Fritz Sternberg 545
- Not So Free Election . . . Mill Lampell 547
- Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid . . . . . Virginia Woolf 549
- Rehearsal on the Channel . . M. W. Fodor 551
- Trial by Time (verse) . . . . . Thomas Hornsby Ferril 553
- How They Are Voting: III . . . . . 553
- Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 555
- Other People's Money . . John T. Flynn 556
- First Century Problems . . Stark Young 557
- Film Ups and Downs . . Otis Ferguson 558
- The Bandwagon . . . . . 559

Correspondence . . . . . 559

Books in Review
- Unfinished Business: Kipling . Chauncey Hackett 561
- Night Club (verse) . . . Louis MacNeice 562
- A Commissar on Spain . . . Ralph Bates 562
- A Catholic Poet . . . John Peale Bishop 563
- A Marxist on American History . . . . . Paul M. Sweezy 564
- A Readers List . . . . . 566

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that nobody can attack us. Meanwhile we cannot be intimidated into ceasing our aid to those victims of aggression who still survive to fight.

It is a time, however, when deeds count more than words. The best response to the Japanese dignitaries who tried to play on the fear of war in this country was the advice to Americans in the Orient to come home, without any relaxation of embargoes on Japan or of help to China. Japan is in reality more afraid of us than we are of her. Canada's embargo of copper and other metals helped. If we can obtain the coöperation of other American states, an international embargo on oil should promptly follow. As for the continued warnings in the controlled Italian press—some of which kindly offered us Britain's possessions in this hemisphere—the best reply would be to let Britain have more planes and ships.

## Fifteenth Round

Mr. Willkie seems to us like a game but beaten fighter who, though out on his feet, keeps on swinging wildly. He asks whether there is a secret treaty between the United States and Britain leading us to war, although he knows there can be no secret treaties under our Constitution. He keeps on making the reckless charge that Mr. Roosevelt wants to be a dictator, and the absurd prediction that social security will be endangered by federal bankruptcy. He insults Mr. Roosevelt's millions of supporters by saying that the Democratic statesmen opposed to the third term were "howled down by the voice from the sewers." This kind of campaigning does not deserve serious answer. Political strategy will probably dictate to the Democratic leaders that it be left to answer itself. For Mr. Willkie has seemed so badly beaten that he is beginning to enlist the sympathy which the American public always has for the underdog, especially if he does not seem to know when he is licked. Too heavy blows in return might appear unsportsmanlike and cause a further reaction in favor of the Republican contender. For our part, we almost wish there were a referee who could call a decision before the knockout at the polls.

## Last Minute Scares

The Democrats, though confident of winning in spite of recent Willkie gains, are fearful of a last-minute trick or sensation that may herd uncertain voters into the Republican column. Such tricks have often been used in previous elections both in Britain and the United States. The old threat of employers to close down in case of a Democratic victory would hardly work this time. The fears of British voters were once aroused by an attack on the Labor Party's fiscal management. But few in this country are seriously worried any more about the gold standard or the deficit. It seems Mr. Willkie has no new ammunition left.

Most apprehension is felt concerning a possible publicity coup by Hitler or Mussolini. They are exceedingly clever propagandists and would do anything possible to defeat Mr. Roosevelt. It may be that fears of war already aroused by the Axis-Japanese alliance account for the sudden reversal of the pro-Roosevelt trend in important Middle Western states, which are far more isolationist than the rest of the country. The dictators might gamble on producing a war crisis just before the election, in the hope that this, combined with Mr. Willkie's charges that the President is leading us into hostilities, might frighten the voters into giving the Republicans a majority.

## War Persecution

In an open letter to Attorney General Jackson, Congressman Marcantonio presents a case of terrorism and suppression against Oklahoma authorities. Eight men and women are on trial in Oklahoma City on charges of "criminal syndicalism." As we go to press one of them, Robert Wood, has been sentenced to ten years in prison with a $5,000 fine.

Originally, Mr. Marcantonio says, eighteen men and women were arrested. He charges that they were taken off without being indicted and were held incommunicado from three to six days. After a preliminary hearing on accusations of criminal syndicalism, bail was set at $100,000 for each defendant. Their lawyers were, according to the letter, at first refused permission to see their clients and later were intimidated and subjected to every possible handicap. The defendants were put in a "tank" with thirty other prisoners who were given liquor (Oklahoma is a dry state) and encouraged to beat up their cell mates. One seventeen-year-old boy was suddenly released and, on arriving home, was set upon and beaten by vigilantes. Another prisoner was told from the bench by Judge Mills, "We'll give you a trial without jury and take care of you quick."

Mr. Jackson may have no power to interfere with Oklahoma procedures, but Mr. Marcantonio's letter is not the kind that should be left gathering dust on a desk. The sentence imposed upon Robert Wood is a good indication of what lies ahead for the other defendants who are also much in need of defense funds.

## The Real Thing in War Taxes

How many American business men who howl about taxation have heard of the excess profits tax in Britain, adopted by a Parliament containing a majority of Conservatives? According to that law, 100 percent of the excess profit is taxed away from all trades and businesses carried on in the United Kingdom. Excess profit is all profit above that earned before the war. The standard period taken as a basis of comparison is that just preceding the hostilities. Thus no business in Britain can make *any* money out of the war.

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If a company made no profit in the standard period, or a very low one, the Board of Referees may fix the level of profit up to a maximum of six percent of the paid-up common stock. In the case of a company in which the directors have a controlling interest, the maximum may be eight percent. (Presumably this is because such companies are more likely to be small ones, in which the proprietor depends on dividends for his livelihood.)

With regard to depreciation and amortization, the British provision is much more cautious than our sweeping allowance of 20 percent annually—permitting new plant and machinery to be written off in five years. Depreciation in Britain is to represent the fall in value by reason of *wear and tear* plus 20 percent of *that sum.* Only if at some future date to be determined by Parliament (presumably after the war), the new plant and machinery have become obsolete, and the loss is ascribable to the war, may the loss thus occasioned be written off—minus the depreciation already taken. In that case it will be apportioned to the previous years, and thus presumably a tax credit will be in order at a time when the government has ceased to feel such a desperate need for funds.

## Hamlet Left Out

Mr. John T. Flynn's department, "Other People's Money," in this week's issue is an amazing instance of the blindness to which prejudice may lead. Mr. Flynn manages to write a whole page about the Far Eastern crisis without once mentioning China. Apparently he never thought of it. With most of what he says we agree. Few in this country would think of fighting or even risking a fight to preserve British or any other imperialism in the Far East. Our supply of rubber from the Indies is not worth a war, though the chances are that Japan would make more trouble for us in getting it at a fair price than he thinks, if Japan were in control. But we disagree vehemently with the inference he allows to be drawn—that therefore there is nothing that concerns us in Japan's aggression. Japan is bent first upon subduing an independent China, just as Hitler and Mussolini are bent upon subduing freedom in Europe. The three have joined hands and have warned us to let them do as they please, on pain of war. Thus they have told us forcibly that the world is all of one piece. The only way to safeguard our lives and our culture in the face of totalitarian threats is to be strong, to refuse to yield, and to weaken the threateners. That is the reason for American policy toward the Far East and toward Europe—and toward South America.

## Wrong Number

The New Republic has received—and has returned to its author—an unsolicited manuscript from George A. Deatherage of the Knights of the White Camellia, one of the American fascist organizations. While it would not be ethical to reveal the contents of a rejected article, we may pass on a warning which Mr. Deatherage wants to convey to our readers, because this sort of thing is contained in other writings of his. It is that a careful record is being kept of the names and doings of the enemies of fascism, and that this information will be utilized when the future and bloody civil war against democracy in America is won. "The Riom of the United States will find the files complete," writes Mr. Deatherage. We should be more impressed by this record-making than we are, if Mr. Deatherage had not addressed his letter to The New Republic, "Attention Mr. Paul Kellogg." It is The Survey, Mr. Deatherage, not this journal, of which Paul Kellogg is editor.

## Better Than We Thought

In an editorial paragraph of August 27 entitled "Blitzkrieg Against Civil Liberties" we cited violations of academic freedom by certain colleges in 1940. Among these colleges was the University of Wisconsin, of which it was reported that action had been taken against liberal students and the ASU at the request of Governor Heil. We have since learned that the board of regents turned down the Governor's request and we are happy to withdraw our former charge.

Criticism was also directed against Brooklyn College for the dismissal of two teachers and the suspension of the ASU and Peace Congress Committee last May. Dr. Gideonse, Brooklyn College president, has since assured us that religious and political considerations played no part in the departure of the two men. They were probationers who were not selected for permanent tenure by their "peers." The ASU and PCC were suspended by the Faculty Student Committee for the remainder of the academic year. They apparently demonstrated on college property, broke up classes and did not request permission to demonstrate or introduce outside speakers. As far as we can judge, the committee was within its rights in ordering suspension, and we have no evidence of the suspension having been prolonged.

## Spaniards in Mexico

Some twenty thousand Spanish Republicans have reached the Americas since the end of the Spanish civil war. More than half have landed in Mexico. They include professors, artists, technicians and skilled workers in every conceivable field. They are in the care of the Technical Committee in Aid of Spaniards, which has worked sensibly and practically not only to help its charges but to make them an asset to the country which has taken them in. Four hundred heads of families have been established on the land; 1,000 workers are employed in new factories producing glass, bricks, refined vegetable oils, tiles, pharmaceutical supplies, etc. A new publishing house has turned out

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twenty-five books with twenty more on the way this year. Now a drive is under way to keep the educational institutions going. The Hispano-Mexican Academy, primary schools in five towns and the Junta of Spanish Culture—these need immediately donations amounting to $15,000. People have withheld aid to the Technical Committee in the belief that the Loyalist government removed enough "treasure" from Spain to provide for its activities. This misleading rumor is scotched by the Committee's vital need of money today: it asks all to give for these "authentic representatives of a national culture."

### Closing the Ranks

A new and only slightly shopworn scheme for protecting the investor by electing Wendell Willkie has come to us under the letterhead of "People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings." The "people" in question are represented by an impressive list of investment chiefs, bank presidents and brokers, with a Church League head and a college ex-president thrown in for spiritual measure. The chairman, Harry W. Harrison, is himself in the investment business—on the receiving end—and his argument for Willkie is simplicity itself. Insurance policy holders are told not only that the New Deal has helped to cut their dividends in half, but that another four years of inflationary measures will do the same to the purchasing power of the face of their policies. Mr. Harrison begs you to help him inform the 50,000,000 policy holders by sending him a donation that will help pay mailing fees. "For each . . . dollar you send, 50 policy holders will receive the enclosed pamphlet, etc."

We have no way of knowing how many citizens have received Mr. Harrison's request. He himself may have visions of 50,000,000 terrified investors dashing madly to the polls to embrace Wendell Willkie. We have confidence, however, that this little maneuver to raise campaign funds underrates the intelligence of the policy holder and will do little to swell his morning mail bag.

### News Notes of a Week

Progressively heavier air raids were directed against England, with the Germans announcing that "total attack" was now in progress over the British Isles. . . . 3,000 German troops were reported drowned off Lorient in the sinking of two troopships. . . . Rome claimed "another" naval victory in the Mediterranean and the sinking of a British cruiser. . . . American oil supplies in the Far East began to be shifted from Shanghai and Hong Kong to Singapore. . . . General Keitel was reported joining Marshal Graziani on the Egyptian border. . . . The United States arranged for the lease of naval and air bases in Brazil and Chile. . . . Rumanian funds to the value of $100,000,000 were frozen by the United States government. . . . There was talk of an alliance pending between the United States and Mexico. Arrangements would follow after Mexican election results had been established. . . . General de Gaulle arrived in the French Cameroons.

One-time Tammany big-shot James J. Hines arrived at Sing Sing. . . . Willkie announced he would concentrate his campaign on New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois and promised the usual job to every worker. . . . A delegation of Argentine and Brazilian army officers arrived to inspect progress in the United States Army. . . . Imminent collapse in this hemisphere was hoped for in fascist circles abroad, based on the sport news headline: "Yankees lost if Indians don't rout Tigers."

## Shall Europe Be Fed?

AMERICA HAS SELDOM been confronted with a more tragic and puzzling dilemma than the question whether we should try to feed those large parts of Europe in which hunger is likely to occur this winter. And responsible American opinion is more divided about this question than about any other international issue.

The debate presents strong arguments on both sides. There is no doubt that France—especially unoccupied France—Belgium, Poland and other conquered peoples will be in dire need. Our warehouses are bursting with surplus foodstuffs. What could be more necessary than to prevent the ravages of malnutrition among millions? Its effects, if long continued, may last for a generation. At the same time the producers would be glad of a market. Herbert Hoover, the Quakers and many others take this attitude.

On the other side, it is recognized that in order to feed these populations we should have to persuade or compel Britain, fighting for her life, to relax the blockade. Britain is superior over her enemy only in sea power, and the principal offensive asset of sea power is to blockade Germany. This stranglehold comes near being the one hope of democracy in Europe. Nothing could be worse for the future of the peoples concerned, and for ours, than a decisive victory for Hitler's regime, which might endure more than a generation. To prevent that, many soldiers and civilians have already died, and it is mere sentimentalism to wish that their sacrifice should be nullified for the sake of avoiding temporary hunger. Feeding the subject populations would be a risk, because every pound of food sent to territory controlled by the Nazis makes their task of supplying the German army and civilian population easier by so much.

Appealing as these arguments on both sides are, it seems to us that they miss the crux of the difficulty. The facts are somewhat more complex than this, and

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the policy adopted in relation to them may have subtler implications. A study by the Department of Agriculture, confirmed by the observations of other authorities (see for instance Fritz Sternberg's article, "The Two Blockades" in this issue) indicates that there will be no real food shortage in Germany this winter, and that the blockade is not likely to put serious pressure of this kind on the Nazis, at least for some time to come. Diet has long been restricted and robbed of many luxuries, but it is sufficient for health. The Department's study indicates also that there is enough food in Europe as a whole to prevent famine, provided it can be distributed efficiently and equitably. It is here that the difficulty arises. Transportation systems have broken down. Military operations have put a heavy strain on existing facilities. Populations have been moved or have fled, overcrowding certain regions with uprooted refugees. Even where food exists, the disorganization of ordinary economic life has rendered many unable to buy it. Added to all this is the fact that the Nazi regime, instead of organizing distribution according to need, has been draining the conquered nations of food resources for its own army and people.

These facts make the broad arguments stated above somewhat irrelevant. On the one hand, it would not do the hungry much good if we merely shipped the food through the blockade to European ports; there is food in Europe already; the problem is how to get it to those who need it. On the other hand, if there were a way to get it to the needy, that would not seriously interfere with any damage the blockade is now doing Hitler, because he has enough food for his purposes anyway.

There is another issue at stake, moreover, which may in the end be more important in the decision of the war than whether or not the Germans go hungry. That is the attitude and potential strength of the subject populations.The war can never be won unless they refuse as far as possible to help the conqueror, unless they are prepared to revolt against him at the proper moment, unless they are ready to welcome a liberator. The granting or withholding of food is an elemental method of inducing friendship or hostility. It works even with animals; it is a primary force in human history.

Existing circumstances make strong propaganda for Hitler in this respect. In reality he is responsible for the food shortages that exist, since even where he has not removed the supplies he has failed to organize distribution. But it is easy for him to shift the blame to the British. The imposition of the continental blockade embittered the French and pushed them toward entrance into the war on Hitler's side. When Americans urge the feeding of Frenchmen, and Britain and her partisans reply with an unqualified no, Britain publicly assumes the responsibility for the hunger of the victims. This is doubly unfortunate, for it means not only that the conquered peoples will not be fed, but that their hostility toward the real author of their misfortune is lessened.

It is a task for diplomacy to reverse this situation, a task equally important for Britain, the United States and the subject peoples. Their ultimate interest is common; they should not allow themselves to be divided by the food issue, to the advantage of Hitler. It is important to keep resources from him, but it is also important to implement their common interest in humane practices. This problem is difficult, but we see no reason why ingenuity may not solve it.

Would it not be possible for Britain and the United States jointly, having worked out between themselves the correct procedure, to offer food to the subject populations, on entirely reasonable conditions? Britain could say, we for our part will let through the blockade any necessary and properly controlled shipments of food and supplies. The United States could propose to furnish the required food and trucks as well as to take full charge of distribution. Both nations could require the same conditions from the German and the subject governments, and warn that if these conditions are not scrupulously fulfilled, the aid would instantly cease. The conditions might be somewhat as follows:

1. The German government is to return, within a specified time, to each conquered region, the foodstuffs shipped from it or their equivalent. These supplies are to be turned over to the American relief authorities. Germany is not to requisition or buy any more food from these regions without American consent.

2. The German government is to facilitate in every way the task of the American relief administration, allowing it freedom of movement and communication, complete autonomy, and all necessary warehousing and transportation facilities.

3. The German government is to allow shipment to Britain, through the submarine and air blockade, of any food supplies that may be necessary to relieve distress there.

4. The Vichy government is to agree, in payment for the aid, that the French naval forces at Martinique, together with such naval and air bases as may be desired there or elsewhere, be ceded to the United States. French shipping is to be allocated to the traffic. Similar concessions may be required of the German-controlled governments in the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark or Norway.

On such terms, Britain could well afford to allow the organization of famine relief, and the United States to pay for it. These, or something like them, are fair minimum conditions, corresponding to the realities of the situation. If Hitler accepted them, he would not be strengthened, and the democracies would earn the gratitude of the subject peoples. If he rejected them, as he probably would, he would be compelled to assume the responsibility which is rightfully his.

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# Democracy at Home

LAST WEEK we commented on the cases of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and other industrial concerns which have refused to obey the Wagner Labor Relations Act, but which nevertheless have received large orders for defense material from the government. From the attitude of the National Defense Advisory Commission and the ruling of the Attorney General, it appeared that the government was about to take a firm line with these recalcitrants. So heated was the opposition aroused among congressional enemies of the law, however, that administration forces have backed down. Haled before the Smith Committee, representatives of the Navy Department—from which Bethlehem receives the bulk of its war orders—testified that they did not intend to refuse contracts to law violators. Members of the NDAC explained that their function was advisory only, and that their statement of policy was to the effect that war industries *should* obey the labor laws. Attorney General Jackson stated that his ruling was merely technical, and had nothing to do with the policy of the Commission.

When the administration displays such a cringing attitude, it is difficult to see how it can retain the respect of labor or indeed of any law-abiding citizen. Workers are, in effect, notified that since the government does not intend to use its great economic power to obtain compliance with the law which guarantees the rights of collective bargaining, they are free to exercise their own, if necessary, by striking and interrupting production in the defense industries. That they will have ample opportunity to do so as the armament program creates a labor shortage is a foregone conclusion.

If this were a solitary incident it would be bad enough, but the law of collective bargaining is not the only labor statute which is being administered in a half-hearted fashion by government officials. Colonel Fleming, Administrator of the Labor Standards Act, has spoken explicitly about the desirability of maintaining labor standards during the crisis, in the interest of production itself. This attitude drew the fire of The New York Times and other influential newspapers which supported the lawless minority of employers opposing collective bargaining. But they need not have worried, because the standards law is being violated with impunity in hundreds of establishments, on account of lax administration.

The Wage and Hour Division has asserted that it has too few inspectors to investigate complaints. Nevertheless, according to Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Division itself returned to the Treasury on July 1, 1940, an unexpended balance of about $387,000. This would have paid the salaries of 180 inspectors at about $2,300 a year.

Instead of using this available money, or asking for even more from Congress, the Division issued on September 22, 1940, a press release entitled, "New Procedure Expedites Wage-Hour Compliance." Under this procedure a form is mailed to each employer against whom a complaint is received, and the employer is asked to fill out the form and state whether or not he is guilty of violation of the law. Apparently the Division is relying on the conscience of law-breakers to bring them into line. At any rate, the release states that the form will "put the employer through a sort of 'examination of conscience.'"

The Division explains that this process is not expected to do away with actual inspection. Nevertheless, Labor's Non-Partisan League calls attention to a letter received by a union complainant from an acting regional director of the Division, and described by this director as a "form letter," saying that no action against the offending employer was contemplated because he had stated that he had not violated the law. The letter advises the complainant that he may hire a lawyer and bring suit privately if he wants to. A later letter, prompted by the indignation aroused by the first one, added that the case was not closed, but that no governmental action was in view "at present." This attitude toward enforcement, it is charged by the LNPL, is typical.

Labor must support the Roosevelt administration because it has done more for the worker's rights and for social welfare generally than any other in our history, and also because Mr. Roosevelt is the world's outstanding exponent of democracy. Mr. Willkie would be an undesirable alternative indeed. Labor must also, for all these reasons, coöperate to the utmost extent in defense production. But Mr. Roosevelt owes a duty to the nation and the world to see that his subordinates do not offer this sort of encouragement to the internal foes of the democratic effort.

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# The Two Blockades

IF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE does not bring about the decisive victory repeatedly predicted by official Nazi spokesmen, and the war continues into next year, the blockades by both sides will play an important role, even apart from purely military considerations. What is Germany's position in this respect after a year of unremitting blockade?

At the outbreak of the war the Third Reich was vulnerable at three points. First, even though she led Europe in the volume of her iron and steel production, she was compelled to import about three-fourths of her iron-ore requirements. Second, despite the most extended measures of strict autarchy, she could provide only 80 per cent of all the foodstuffs required by the German population. Third, her natural and synthetic production of oil supplied less than half the amount required even in time of peace.

How much has the situation changed after one year of war? By conquering Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and France, Germany now controls all the iron-ore production of these countries. By vanquishing France she obtains a direct, unhampered overland route to Spain, thus avoiding the British blockade at sea which prevented Spanish ore from reaching her. Her victory in Scandinavia placed her in a position where she alone could commandeer the entire output of the Swedish iron-ore deposits. Even in the face of a perfectly functioning, absolute blockade of the enemy, Germany's supply of iron ore is now fully secured.

Greater Germany's yearly steel production amounted to about 26,000,000 tons as compared with the 17,000,000 jointly produced by France, Belgium and Holland. In this most vital field, Germany's present position shows a considerable improvement. Whenever we consider the RAF's unrelenting attacks on German industrial plants, we should always bear in mind that the capacity of the German steel industry—to which now must be added that of the occupied territories—is about three times the British capacity.

The German food situation has, during the first year of war, shown a further, if only slight, deterioration—partly caused by the extremely severe cold of last winter. When comparing present conditions with those of the last war, we must apply our experience of the latter most critically. In marked contrast to Hohenzollern Germany, the Third Reich entered this war after a period of what official German terminology now describes as an economy of foodstuff deficiency. Before the war began, however, the Nazi Agricultural Estate established a comprehensive organization to direct agricultural production and to distribute available produce. Rationing was already in force. After one year Germany controlled territories with a population of 170,000,000—more than twice the population of Germany proper, including Austria. Invading German troops found immense quantities of food reserves stored up in the occupied countries, which were quickly requisitioned and transferred to the Reich in accordance with the prearranged plans of the Nazi Economic General Staff. The livestock of Denmark and the Netherlands is already slaughtered—partly because of an acute fodder shortage. The victories of the German army, coupled with the terroristic measures employed by the State Secret Police, now enable the Hitler regime to improve the food situation in Germany proper, or at least to slow down the inevitable process of gradual deterioration, but only at the expense of the occupied territories.

To this obvious improvement should be added the further amelioration brought about by the peculiar manner in which this war is conducted. The British blockade in the last war was an important factor in the weakening of Germany, but only because the consumption in military sectors increased while agricultural production markedly declined. In addition, Britain was able to cut off German imports. The increased food consumption of the last war was conditioned by the fact that during the four years no less than 13,000,000 Germans were called to the colors. German military experts calculated that the army consumed 20 percent above normal peacetime consumption, while the drafting of peasants, deficient manure, the lack of agricultural machinery and horsepower, etc., caused another 20-percent fall in production. Experts concluded that a war similar to that of 1914-18 would allow full supplies of foodstuffs only to the country that was producing at least 40 percent above its normal peacetime consumption.

The present war, however, shows a radical change even in this respect. Her continental conquest practically completed, Germany hardly needs an army of more than three million men for her war against Britain. This means that the military sector's present food consumption is far below that of the First World War. It also enables the German High Command to release millions of farmers and peasants to work in the fields, and thus obtain a continuity of agricultural production. Without land warfare on a considerable scale, the chances of an effective foodstuff blockade are diminishing.

Summarily, we may say that her control of Continental Europe now enables the Reich to shift the overwhelming part of the existing food shortage to the population of the occupied territories, while her war against Britain, requiring a comparatively small land army, represents a further weakening of any blockade

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directed against the flow of food supplies. It is still probable that during a second year of war Germans will have less to eat than at the outset of the war; however, both soldiers and armament workers will have sufficient foodstuffs available to prevent any adverse influence on military operations—especially if the importation of food from Balkan countries continues to function as before.

The most vulnerable point of Germany's war effort was and still remains her supply of oil. The Third Reich is working hard to maintain and even increase the supply of oil from Rumania. The aerial warfare, if it is to continue on a considerable scale, will require immense quantities of oil, or the lack of fuel might thwart it altogether. In contrast to Great Britain, Germany developed the production of synthetic oil from domestic coal. Aside from her natural production of about 500,000 tons per year, her annual output of synthetic oil amounts to two to three million tons. She is now hard at work to increase this production, but it shows only a slow and slight increase, amounting to about half a million tons in six months.

The Soviet Union produces about 30,000,000 tons of oil, and thus she is in a position to fill the gap. But none of the German or Russian reports dealing with the working of the Russo-German pact have contained even indicative figures of the amount of Russian oil that went to the Reich during last year. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union's oil export showed a marked decline even prior to the signing of the trade agreement with Germany; immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, it amounted to about one million tons per year.

Since then the Red Army has been in a state of permanent mobilization, naturally increasing Soviet consumption. The High Command of the Red Army now insists on storing up considerable reserves of raw materials, primarily oil. It is fair to assume that under such circumstances Russia's oil exports to the Reich have been very limited. It is certain that they will not increase if the war against Britain develops into a prolonged campaign through the winter, since Stalin is by no means interested in accelerating Hitler's victory. In this connection, a passage in one of Winston Churchill's more recent speeches deserves special attention. The Prime Minister said that Britain's war with Germany will be decided in Europe and not in Asia. But were the Nazis deprived of decisive successes during the months now immediately ahead, they would carry the war to Western Asia to complete their absolute control of continental Europe and to obtain the uninterrupted supply of oil sufficing even for a protracted campaign.

Now, reversing the situation, is the Reich in an advantageous position to win her much publicized blockade war against Britain? Imports of the United Kingdom exceed those of Germany by a considerable margin. While Germany imported only 20 percent of her food requirements, about 70 percent of Great Britain's food supplies came from abroad. Half of Germany's peacetime requirements of oil were imported, but Britain imports almost a full 100 percent, and still has no facilities for synthetic oil production worth mentioning. While the whole of Central Europe imported a total of 8,000,000 tons of grain per year, Britain alone was forced to import 10,000,000. An absolute blockade means a considerable strain on Germany—but a death blow to Britain. But it is by no means justifiable to speak of such a blockade thus far. Just as figures indicating mutual losses in the air are widely different, so German and British figures revealing the loss of tonnage also differ. But even assuming that Britain's figures are somewhat altered in her favor, with actual losses greater than published figures would indicate, we cannot speak of a really successful German blockade against the British Isles. Britain increased her merchant shipping by taking over the tonnage of countries invaded by Germany and also by adding new ships built since the outbreak of the war; these additions obviously cancel out her serious losses at sea. Thus Britain's supply of raw materials and foodstuffs is as yet by no means imperiled. All signs tend to indicate that even an intensified warfare at sea, carried out by means of mines and submarines, would fail to impair British supplies. The London Economist writes correctly in this respect: "Germany cannot beat the blockade. She can only try to defeat the blockader."

But this idea applies only in so far as Germany's sea warfare is concerned. The consequences of aerial attacks cannot be fully estimated as yet, since the experience gained during the first weeks might not be conclusive. It is in the cards that in the near future Germany will concentrate her aerial attacks against British ports. If the Luftwaffe succeeds in destroying a considerable part of Britain's port facilities, it will thereby paralyze British merchant shipping. How far the Luftwaffe can go toward this logical goal will become evident during the months ahead of us. Results achieved thus far indicate that despite all the damage inflicted on British port facilities, the destruction is insufficient to influence her war effort to a dangerous degree.

During the present war Britain has never renounced the blockade as one of her primary weapons against Germany. But British authorities are fully conscious of the fact that the blockade is but one of several weapons. Even if we assume that Britain will stand her ground and weather the German onslaught—her mere resistance will by no means be an equivalent of victory, but only an ability to avert fatal defeat. The struggle will continue and one of the many weapons used in its course will be the blockade. This is now a fact which is perceived in Britain with all its potential consequences.

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The blockade by itself failed to decide the outcome of the First World War. After four years of steadily growing blockade, only the actual collapse of the German front in France brought about the Allied victory. Today, Germany's position appears to be more advantageous than it was during the last war. Thus the British blockade, even in a protracted campaign, could only weaken but never decisively conquer Germany's seemingly inexhaustible military power. This fact contains the possibility of important consequences for further political developments which will concern not merely Britain alone.

FRITZ STERNBERG

# Not So Free Election

On SEPTEMBER 20 the President of the United States said: "No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a really free election." His words came at a time when a vicious electoral witch-hunt was under way on the American scene. The hunting party includes the Dies Committee, the American Legion, vigilante groups, newspapers and local politicians. In more than twenty-five states, intimidation, violence and crushing legislation have been used to keep minority parties off the ballot.

The minority party in the United States is an aged and sturdy institution. It embodies the American heritage of dissent. Most of our great reform measures were at first too radical for the major parties. Minority parties sponsored abolition of slavery, curbing of trusts, federal income taxes, old age and unemployment insurance, wage-hour legislation, direct election of United States Senators, woman suffrage and free education. New truth always begins as a minority. It must be someone's belief before it becomes the world's.

Throughout the nation today minority parties are fighting a bitter battle for freedom at the polls. In Massachusetts, the Ballot Law Commissioners ruled all minority parties out of the election. It took a court order to have the Socialist, Socialist Labor, Communist and Prohibition Parties restored to the ballot. Because of legal requirements regarding the number of votes cast in the last election, or the number of names necessary for a nominating petition, the Socialist Party will run no candidates in Florida, Maine, West Virginia, Nevada, and North Carolina; and the Communist Party will not be on the ballot in Oregon, Nevada, Oklahoma and South Dakota. For the same reasons there has been no minority party on the Louisiana ballot for twenty years.

California whipped up a special law to get the Communist Party off the ballot. The Socialist Labor Party is also off the California ballot because the petition requirements (175,000 signatures) are an impossibility for small minority parties. The Socialist Party barely managed to get on the ballot, even with the endorsement of the Progressive Party.

Under a federal law it is a crime "if two or more persons conspire to prevent by force, intimidation or threat, any citizen who is lawfully entitled to vote from giving his support or advocacy in favor of any lawfully qualified person." But federal law applies only to the election of President, Vice President and Congressmen. In the primary elections, each state determines its own voting regulations. In Mississippi, the State Democratic Committee threatened to bar Jefferson Democrats from future primary elections. "If necessary," the Committee decreed, "all voters will be required to sign an affidavit swearing that they did not vote Republican, before they are allowed to vote in Democratic primaries during the next two years." Since, in the South, nomination on the Democratic ticket amounts to winning the election, barring a man from the primary is, in effect, robbing him of his vote.

In most Southern states the ballot is about as secret as the World Series. South Carolina requires every party to print and distribute its own ballots. Several states require voters to register opposite a number which is then listed on the ballot. Chairman Looney of the Louisiana State Democratic Committee announced that "Democrats who advocate the election of Wendell Willkie will be disqualified as voters in the Democratic primary." And a touch of terrorism for emphasis: "Election commissioners who knowingly permit Jefferson Democrats to cast votes in the primary will be guilty of a misdemeanor, and will subject themselves to penalties of from $50 to $500 and imprisonment for six months to two years." In South Carolina, State Democratic Committeeman James A. Hammond promised ominously to "clamp down on Jefferson Democrats as much as possible."

City officials of Miami, Florida, publicly blasted City Attorney Lewis Twyman for campaigning for Willkie. Fearing that Twyman's pro-Willkie sentiments might embarrass Miami projects awaiting federal funds, Commissioners Fred W. Horsea and R. C. Gardner demanded his resignation. Twyman answered, "I thought the basic right to vote had been settled 150 years ago. Possibly not. Well, I and others intend to resettle it."

Attempts to suppress the Communist and Socialist Parties have been particularly brutal. The Communist Party is recognized as a legal political party in the United States, yet it has been arbitrarily barred from the ballot in Utah, Arkansas, Georgia, Missouri and Washington. Similar action is pending in half a dozen states. Election workers seeking signatures for Socialist

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and Communist petitions have been threatened, beaten and jailed. In Tampa, Florida, Communist Party officials who went to ask Mayor Chancey for the use of the city auditorium for a political rally were turned over to the police to be mugged and fingerprinted. They were charged with no crime, and there was no legal authority for the Mayor's stunt. Illinois witnessed more than one hundred cases of assault and arrest of Communist and Socialist Labor canvassers. In Peoria a mob set fire to three automobiles, after beating and injuring the occupants. One man lost an eye. In Lewiston four men were arrested and held for almost a month on $80,000 bail. The bail was finally reduced to $14,000. Then the state electoral board ruled the Communist Party off the ballot, holding that the nominating petitions were faulty.

The secretary of state of Kansas refused to accept Communist nominating petitions, announcing that he would rather go to jail than put the Communist Party on the ballot. He finally accepted the petitions under protest, then ruled them out, citing a decision made by the Kansas attorney general in 1924. The ruling had been reversed by the Election Code of 1925. In Missouri the secretary of state accepted the Communist petitions, stating that everything was in order. Two weeks later he ruled the Communist Party off the ballot. In Ohio canvassers for the Socialist Labor Party were harassed by the police and chased out of Cleveland, Zanesville and other cities. A man was denied citizenship papers because his daughter had signed a Communist petition. Secretary of state George M. Neffner ruled the Socialist, Communist, Prohibition, Socialist Labor and independent candidates off the ballot. Each of the three parties had more than 4,000 signatures over the required number. After accepting the petitions, the secretary of state claimed that he had received "about 4,000 phone calls from signers asking that their names be withdrawn." The barred parties were granted no hearing.

In Maryland, as in Kentucky, New Jersey and other states, the Dies Committee sent letters to Communist petition signers, implying that they were guilty of un-American activities. The Governor of Maryland asked the secretary of state to bar the Communist Party from the ballot. So did the Governor of Tennessee. So did Senator Thomas of New Jersey. The Texas secretary of state tried to take the Communist Party off the ballot, but was overruled by the attorney general.

Parties of the Left are indications that some lives are inadequately cared for under existing conditions. Suppression seems an indefensible way of meeting that situation. But County Attorney Robins, of Santa Cruz County, Arizona, doesn't think so. He announced, "I believe that—subject only to the laws of God—the use at this time of any methods or means necessary to rid this country of Communists is not only morally justified but is demanded; and I myself shall act accordingly whenever the opportunity presents itself." Attorney General Joe Conway sliced Communist candidates off the Arizona ballot on the grounds that they could not take an oath of allegiance. Conway then toured the state asking petition signers to repudiate their signatures. In Kingman, Arizona, two men were jailed for circulating Communist petitions. A local attorney who tried to defend them was run out of town.

The Dies Committee and the newspapers have been waging a reign of terror in Pennsylvania. Dies's stenographers laboriously copied down every name on the Communist petitions. Then all signers received official letters asking them for repudiations. The Dies letter made it appear as though signing the petition meant admitting membership in the Communist Party, or support of its principles. The law requires neither. As a matter of fact, many people testified that they had signed the petitions merely as a gesture in defense of the right of minority parties to a place on the ballot. Newspapers all over the state printed petition lists and picked up the Dies trick of subtly suggesting that signers step forth and deny their signatures. Many papers outlined the procedure and offered facilities. The Harrisburg Evening News and Patriot offered signers several possible excuses: "Many of the complainants in other cities say the solicitor told them it was a petition to keep the United States out of war. In other cases they say Communist petitions were frequently represented as Republican or Democratic petitions. . . . Persons wishing to make such complaints and have their complaints published, may do so by calling at the editorial rooms and making their wishes known."

In Philadelphia, teachers, policemen and firemen whose names appeared on the Communist lists have been threatened with dismissal. The threat has been carried out against six Department of Public Assistance workers. Police called at the homes of all signers, asking them to verify their signatures. Signers who were not at home were left notes demanding that they come to the police station for questioning. In a Negro section of the city, rumor spread that applicants for new homes in a recently completed Federal Housing Project would be rejected unless their names were repudiated. Over sixty canvassers in various counties were indicted for fraud in obtaining signatures, and held on bail as high as $14,400. Several defendants were accused of breaking the election statute by not being registered members of the party whose petition they were circulating. Examination of the Pennsylvania Code reveals no such law.

In Michigan twelve Communist election workers were arrested and held without charge. The secretary of state announced that state employees whose names appeared on the petitions would be fired. In New Hampshire three canvassers were arrested, fingerprinted and then released. In Maine newspapers threatened to publish a blacklist of Socialist petition signers.

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In upper New York State, Socialist and Communist election workers were told to "get out and stay out." The mayor of Burlington, Vermont, published the names of Communist petition-signers. The petition lists had been stolen from the office of the Communist Party, and the mayor refused to return them.

West Virginia provided the theatre for a strange election drama. It began last May, when the American Legion sent out a pamphlet listing the names on the state Communist petitions, with introductions to Legionnaires to visit the signers. The pamphlet exploded all over the state. In Fayette County, two coal-company employees whose names appeared on the list were fired. Coal miners who signed petitions were evicted from company houses. Prosecuting attorneys called petition-signers to their offices and asked them, with Legionnaires standing by, to sign printed forms repudiating their signatures. One justice of the peace threatened that petition-signers would lose their jobs unless they signed repudiations. Newspapers throughout the state reprinted the lists, and one newspaper printed a repudiation-affidavit form, urging petition-signers to fill it out and bring it to the nearest coal-company office for a free notarization. One hundred fifty people were indicted for violating a law that prohibits independent petition-signers from voting in the primaries —a law that had never before been invoked. Though this violation is only a misdemeanor, eight persons arrested in Wierton were held in $5,000 bail for each.

Oscar Wheeler, Communist candidate for Governor, was sentenced to from one to fifteen years in state prison for obtaining petition signatures through fraud. Five extra years were slapped on the sentence because Wheeler had been a conscientious objector during the World War. Wheeler, a fifty-four-year-old goatherd, was charged with not letting signers know that it was a Communist petition. At the head of the petition form were the words "Communist Party," and a hammer and sickle half an inch high.

Local attorneys refused to defend Wheeler. Five thousand dollars' worth of United States government Liberty bonds, payable to bearer, were rejected as bail, and a writ of *habeas corpus* denied. Attorney Louis Fleischer, who came from New York to help with the case, was assaulted in the corridor of the Princeton County courthouse. When Fleischer appealed to Sheriff Crumpecker for protection, he was told to "go back to New York." As he drove out of town, Fleischer was shot at six times.

One way that fascism comes is by an almost imperceptible system of limitations on public liberty, an accumulation of suppressions. The attack on civil liberties is one invasion the United States army can't stop. The only safeguard of democracy at the polls is the determination of the people to make it work.

MILL LAMPELL

# Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid[1]

THE GERMANS were over this house last night and the night before that. Here they are again. It is a queer experience, lying in the dark and listening to the zoom of a hornet which may at any moment sting you to death. It is a sound that interrupts cool and consecutive thinking about peace. Yet it is a sound—far more than prayers and anthems—that should compel one to think about peace. Unless we can think peace into existence we—not this one body in this one bed but millions of bodies yet to be born—will lie in the same darkness and hear the same death rattle overhead. Let us think what we can do to create the only efficient air-raid shelter while the guns on the hill go pop pop pop and the searchlights finger the clouds and now and then, sometimes close at hand, sometimes far away a bomb drops.

Up there in the sky young Englishmen and young German men are fighting each other. The defenders are men, the attackers are men. Arms are not given to Englishwomen either to fight the enemy or to defend herself. She must lie weaponless tonight. Yet if she believes that the fight going on up in the sky is a fight by the English to protect freedom, by the Germans to destroy freedom, she must fight, so far as she can, on the side of the English. How far can she fight for freedom without firearms? By making arms, or clothes or food. But there is another way of fighting for freedom without arms; we can fight with the mind. We can make ideas that will help the young Englishman who is fighting up in the sky to defeat the enemy.

But to make ideas effective, we must be able to fire them off. We must put them into action. And the hornet in the sky rouses another hornet in the mind. There was one zooming in The Times this morning—a woman's voice saying, "Women have not a word to say in politics." There is no woman in the Cabinet; nor in any responsible post. All the idea makers who are in a position to make ideas effective are men. That is a thought that damps thinking, and encourages irresponsibility. Why not bury the head in the pillow, plug the ears, and cease this futile activity of idea making? Because there are other tables besides officer tables and conference tables. Are we not leaving the young Englishman without a weapon that might be of value to him if we give up private thinking, tea-table thinking,

[1] This article is expected to be published shortly in "Women's Forum," a symposium on current matters concerning women. The forum will be edited by Mrs. Motier Harris Fisher of Oberlin, Ohio. — THE EDITORS

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because it seems useless? Are we not stressing our disability because our ability exposes us perhaps to abuse, perhaps to contempt? "I will not cease from mental fight," Blake wrote. Mental fight means thinking against the current, not with it.

That current flows fast and furious. It issues in a spate of words from the loudspeakers and the politicians. Every day they tell us that we are a free people, fighting to defend freedom. That is the current that has whirled the young airman up into the sky and keeps him circling there among the clouds. Down here, with a roof to cover us and a gas mask handy, it is our business to puncture gas bags and discover seeds of truth. It is not true that we are free. We are both prisoners tonight—he boxed up in his machine with a gun handy; we lying in the dark with a gas mask handy. If we were free we should be out in the open, dancing, at the play, or sitting at the window talking together. What is it that prevents us? "Hitler!" the loudspeakers cry with one voice. Who is Hitler? What is he? Aggressiveness, tyranny, the insane love of power made manifest, they reply. Destroy that, and you will be free.

The drone of the planes is now like the sawing of a branch overhead. Round and round it goes, sawing and sawing at a branch directly above the house. Another sound begins sawing its way in the brain. "Women of ability"—it was Lady Astor speaking in The Times this morning—"are held down because of a subconscious Hitlerism in the hearts of men." Certainly we are held down. We are equally prisoners tonight—the Englishmen in their planes, the Englishwomen in their beds. But if he stops to think he may be killed; and we too. So let us think for him. Let us try to drag up into consciousness the subconscious Hitlerism that holds us down. It is the desire for aggression; the desire to dominate and enslave. Even in the darkness we can see that made visible. We can see shop windows blazing; and women gazing; painted women; dressed-up women; women with crimson lips and crimson fingernails. They are slaves who are trying to enslave. If we could free ourselves from slavery we should free men from tyranny. Hitlers are bred by slaves.

A bomb drops. All the windows rattle. The anti-aircraft guns are getting active. Up there on the hill under a net tagged with strips of green and brown stuff to imitate the hues of autumn leaves guns are concealed. Now they all fire at once. On the nine o'clock radio we shall be told "Forty-four enemy planes were shot down during the night, ten of them by anti-aircraft fire." And one of the terms of peace, the loudspeakers say, is to be disarmament. There are to be no more guns, no army, no navy, no air force in the future. No more young men will be trained to fight with arms. That rouses another mind-hornet in the chambers of the brain—another quotation. "To fight against a real enemy, to earn undying honor and glory by shooting total strangers, and to come home with my breast covered with medals and decorations, that was the summit of my hope. . . . It was for this that my whole life so far had been dedicated, my education, training, everything. . . ."

Those were the words of a young Englishman who fought in the last war. In the face of them, do the current thinkers honestly believe that by writing "Disarmament" on a sheet of paper at a conference table they will have done all that is needful? Othello's occupation will be gone; but he will remain Othello. The young airman up in the sky is driven not only by the voices of loudspeakers; he is driven by voices in himself—ancient instincts, instincts fostered and cherished by education and tradition. Is he to be blamed for those instincts? Could we switch off the maternal instinct at the command of a table full of politicians? Suppose that imperative among the peace terms was: "Childbearing is to be restricted to a very small class of specially selected women," would we submit? Should we not say, "The maternal instinct is a woman's glory. It was for this that my whole life has been dedicated, my education, training, everything." . . . But if it were necessary for the sake of humanity, for the peace of the world, that childbearing should be restricted, the maternal instinct subdued, women would attempt it. Men would help them. They would honor them for their refusal to bear children. They would give them other openings for their creative power. That too must make part of our fight for freedom. We must help the young Englishmen to root out from themselves the love of medals and decorations. We must create more honorable activities for those who try to conquer in themselves their fighting instinct, their subconscious Hitlerism. We must compensate the man for the loss of his gun.

The sound of sawing overhead has increased. All the searchlights are erect. They point at a spot exactly above this roof. At any moment a bomb may fall on this very room. One, two, three, four, five, six . . . the seconds pass. The bomb did not fall. But during those seconds of suspense all thinking stopped. All feeling, save one dull dread, ceased. A nail fixed the whole being to one hard board. The emotion of fear and of hate is therefore sterile, unfertile. Directly that fear passes, the mind reaches out and instinctively revives itself by trying to create. Since the room is dark it can create only from memory. It reaches out to the memory of other Augusts—in Bayreuth, listening to Wagner; in Rome, walking over the Campagna; in London. Friends' voices come back. Scraps of poetry return. Each of those thoughts, even in memory, was far more positive, reviving, healing and creative than the dull dread made of fear and hate. Therefore if we are to compensate the young man for the loss of his glory and of his gun, we must give him access to the creative feelings. We must make happiness. We must free him from the machine. We must bring him out of his prison

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into the open air. But what is the use of freeing the young Englishman if the young German and the young Italian remain slaves?

The searchlights, wavering across the flat, have picked up the plane now. From this window one can see a little silver insect turning and twisting in the light. The guns go pop pop pop. Then they cease. Probably the raider was brought down behind the hill. One of the pilots landed safe in a field near here the other day. He said to his captors, speaking fairly good English, "How glad I am that the fight is over!" Then an Englishman gave him a cigarette, and an Englishwoman made him a cup of tea. That would seem to show that if you can free the man from the machine, the seed does not fall upon altogether stony ground. The seed may be fertile.

At last all the guns have stopped firing. All the searchlights have been extinguished. The natural darkness of a summer's night returns. The innocent sounds of the country are heard again. An apple thuds to the ground. An owl hoots, winging its way from tree to tree. And some half-forgotten words of an old English writer come to mind: "The huntsmen are up in America. . . ." Let us send these fragmentary notes to the huntsmen who are up in America, to the men and women whose sleep has not yet been broken by machine-gun fire, in the belief that they will rethink them generously and charitably, perhaps shape them into something serviceable. And now, in the shadowed half of the world, to sleep.

VIRGINIA WOOLF

*August, 1940*

# Rehearsal on the Channel

THE AMERICAN newspaper-reading public has just been through some puzzling weeks. The press has predicted an imminent German invasion of England, and judging by the reports of the more sensational newspapermen from London, the German bombing of England must have been so terrific that, by logical calculation, Britain's capital, her war industries, her docks and her means of transportation were either destroyed or badly crippled.

These reports seemed convincing, but those of us who went through several weeks of air raids and bombardments in Belgium and France knew that even a terrific bombardment could not destroy everything. The latest reliable reports from England have confirmed the fact that comparatively little of London has been destroyed, though those unfortunate dwellers of the Poplar and Silvertown slums whose houses suffered most may jeer at this statement. From a general military point of view the situation is relatively good. Less than two percent of London has been destroyed (Madrid, one-third completely ruined, carried on for three years), the military damage caused by the German bombing is negligible, and the damage done to the London docks is unimportant because the traffic from that port has been reduced for obvious reasons far more than it was reduced by damage from the air. The raids have only strengthened the morale of Britain.

England was not invaded. It is, of course, difficult and dangerous to commit oneself to definite prophesies, but judging from experience gained during eight months of "bore" war and six weeks of lightning war, I am inclined to say that the plans for the invasion of England had already failed in August.

I watched with fear and awe the waxing of the harvest moon in August. That was the last real chance for an invasion of England. The bright moon gave plenty of light for night bombing, the days were longer and it would have been possible to launch an attack at 4:30 A.M. (Western European DST). At that early hour it was bright enough to attack, and with good light the invasion could have continued until eight P.M. When, in the third week of August, the invasion was still predicted by a sensation-seeking press, I told a columnist friend that I was convinced that the danger of invasion was now over. The days were getting too short and the changing weather, as well as the tempestuous channel, made the landing of tanks on flat-bottomed barges impossible.

My friend was surprised, and asked me what I imagined Hitler's future plans to be. I told him I thought that Hitler would do much as Napoleon did when he failed to invade England: try to create a diversion in the Near East, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Iran.

Naturally this raises the question why there has continued to be a concentration of German boats and ships in Norway, Boulogne, Dover and Brest? Why the continuous bombing of London? Surely these can only be a prelude to invasion?

However, it would be wrong to dismiss these concentrations of troops and ships as a bluff. They were something more. The technique of Marshal von Brauchitsch was to make "alertes"—try-outs—wherever a German attack was contemplated. I saw such "alertes" repeatedly in Holland and Belgium. Thus, in the first weeks of November all my colleagues reported not only from Brussels and The Hague, but also from Paris, London and Berlin, that a German attack on Holland was imminent. I reported to my

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paper (The Chicago Daily News) that many competent observers believed that the German troop concentrations were in reality a form of pressure on Holland and Belgium, and that I doubted that Germany intended to invade the two countries so late in the year. I said on November 9 that the attack on Holland and Belgium was doubted by astute observers, on account of the terrain, which was in no state at that time of year to be favorable to mechanized units.

Why were the Germans trying these false alarms? On November 11, 1939, against Holland; on January 13, 1940, against Belgium; on April 5 against both? The concentration of troops and of mechanized army units was real; everything was ready for the invasion of the Low Countries, as it was ready in September against England. Why then did they indulge in this seemingly purposeless display? It was more than a device to frighten these small countries, more than a mental third degree to terrorize them into submission. Blitzkrieg can be successful only if the use of the attacker's mechanized units is faster and better than those of the defender. These realistic German concentrations on the Dutch and Belgian frontiers served to force them into making equally realistic defensive moves. Nazi Germany's spies (the fifth column) took careful note of these counter-moves. Once the General Staff knew what moves Holland and Belgium, as well as France and England, would make, they could make their own final plans. They had to know: what kind of mobilization measures would be made in case of a German attack; how reserves would be brought up; how fast the first-line troops could reach their destination; and how quickly the advance guards could occupy their posts. When all these data were collected, the Germans redrew their plans so that their "blitz" attack would be decisively faster than the defense moves. At the same time, through their fifth column, they watched the measures the French and British were preparing to take for the defense of Belgium in case of attack.

There were three rehearsals of this kind against the Low Countries before the final attack began on May 10.

I believe that the recent realistic concentration of troops and barges against England was a similar rehearsal. September was too late for the invasion, just as November of last year was too late for invasion of Holland. But Germany wanted to know what moves the British would make to parry an invasion. Now they know. With this knowledge the German General Staff will make its new plans for next spring, aiming to "out-blitz" the British defensive tactics.

Naturally, all this does not mean that present danger of invasion does not exist. It exists, but it is reduced to an infinitesimal minimum. However, should the German intelligence service report a relaxation of British vigilance, then even unfavorable weather and a stormy sea would not be sufficient to keep Hitler off. But it is extremely unlikely that the British will drop their guard to that degree.

If an invasion of Britain is impossible this fall, then Hitler, like Napoleon, will turn toward the Near East. This change in plans was the reason for the recent conference in Rome. At present Germany is not in an advantageous position because of her shortage of oil and gasoline. Gasoline can be found only in two places (remembering that Hitler can rely only on land routes as long as the British navy exists): Irak and Iran make up one, and Caucasian Russia the other. Hitler is not yet fully prepared to attack Russia and conquer the Ukraine for a passage to Baku. But the Berlin-Bagdad dream is no invention of Hitler's: it existed in the minds of German politicians, statesmen, economists, scientists and business men long before the World War.

If the attack on England proves impossible by the direct route of invasion, the alternative is to weaken England in her vital points of interest. The next weeks may see the beginning of a winter campaign: Italy attacking Egypt and Germany attacking Turkey. Such a plan explains the sudden political shift in Rumania, an absolutely obedient regime being necessary for the German maneuvers toward the Near East. This penetration toward Constantinople may, however, ultimately cause a clash between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. Recently Russian distrust of Germany has been noticeably on the increase.

Whether the diversion toward the Near East will cause an actual clash between Russia and Germany is difficult to foretell. Conflict between these two great powers is almost inevitable. Even if Russia is willing to support Germany in her policy of blackmailing England (which is doubtful), she is not in a position to give real help to Germany. The Soviet-German treaty today is mere paper; economic help from Russia to Germany, from a practical point of view, is very small. Russia needs every ounce of steel, copper, manganese and oil produced at home for her own army. In fact, Russia has become a customer in this hemisphere for many raw materials that she formerly supplied to Germany. Inadequate transport and industries would force Stalin, in any case, to renounce helping Germany. But there are many signs that Russia is becoming more suspicious of her "partner" in the Soviet-German pact, and that her supplies to Germany are being deliberately sabotaged.

If there is a growing distrust between Germany and Russia over the Bosporus—Stalin certainly views the plans of Hitler in Turkey and Irak with grave anxiety—there is an equally great distrust between Germany and Italy over Spain. German and Italian papers emphasize the Axis' solidarity on all fronts, but there is major rivalry between Teuton and Latin in the Iberian Peninsula.

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Rome wants a Latin union in southwestern Europe under Italian domination, including Portugal, Spain, France, Italy and their vast colonial possessions. The success of Mussolini's plan would make the Mediterranean a Latin sea, and make the Latin union almost as formidable a conglomeration as Hitler's Pan-Europe.

Obviously, Hitler does not intend to permit this. He plans to reduce France to the status of an inferior power, under German hegemony, and to establish German supremacy in Spain. With the help of a German Spain, many plans of economic and political expansion in South America could be carried through.

One must remember that South America is at present the continent richest in raw materials. German iron-ore supplies, even if the Nazis annex all Lorraine and gain France's huge iron resources, will be exhausted in one generation. South America has vast iron-ore resources, large copper and other ore mines and rich oil fields. They would solve Germany's raw-material problems for several generations, and Germany is thinking several generations ahead.

The United States is in a similar situation. North American iron-ore resources will be exhausted by 1960, at the present rate of production. What then? The Germans have foreseen their own need in good time, and have already started the gradual "peaceful" conquest of South America. What will the United States do to provide ore supplies for *its* future generations?

M. W. FODOR

## Trial by Time

Out of the old transgressions of the seas
We come,
Encroachments of the land,
No vestige of beginning,
No prospect of an end.

Salt of the blood is ocean bathing still
Each cell of brain and heart
Burning uphill.

Out of the tide-slime
Credulous we come,
Singing our latest God stabbed and perfumed,
Springing the eye of the enemy from the socket,
Building a ladder to a broken bird,
Meadow and mine to the pocket,
Dream to the word.

Out of the sluggard butcheries we come,
Cowering so at night in a white cold sweat,
Staring at hills and lovers,
Yet strange with a fairer courage,
To us of all beasts given,
To meet with flaking hair and nostril numb
The ice-long ice-long dream of peace on earth,
Somewhere on earth,
Or peace in heaven.

THOMAS HORNSBY FERRIL

## How They Are Voting: III

FRIENDS of The New Republic continue to send us information as to their choices in the coming election. We publish here the third list of these replies. They are listed alphabetically.

Willkie, so far—chiefly because I dislike the third term and distrust Roosevelt's debonair way of pulling foreign-policy rabbits out of the hat. Also I'd like to see Willkie's encouragement of private investment at least given a try, and would not expect him to be indifferent to the need for further social gains. FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN

I expect to vote for Roosevelt—not because Mr. Ickes thinks Wendell Willkie is a tool of Wall Street, but because, at peace or in war, making houses or building battleships, it is more than ever essential that the New Deal should go on. Hitler cannot be defeated either here or abroad except by social dynamite as potent as his own. That means the New Deal and more New Deal. And the New Deal means Roosevelt. ALFRED M. BINGHAM

Roosevelt! I still believe in (1) cerebration and (2) discussion before action, and I think Willkie, being potentially more of a dictator than Roosevelt, relies too much on his own judgment and takes advice too little—as compared with Roosevelt. EDWIN G. BORING

I shall vote for Roosevelt for the reasons already given by the following contributors to your symposium (but with more enthusiasm than some of them): Van Wyck Brooks, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, George S. Counts, Jerome Davis, Lewis Gannett, Max Lerner, Eduard C. Lindeman, Carey McWilliams, Jesse H. Newlon, Fletcher Pratt.

Which is to say, I suppose, that I find an imperfect New Deal infinitely more desirable than the perfect Old Deal promised by Willkie, including the thesis that to draft industry as well as lives is "a cheap political proposition."

HUMPHREY COBB

Two months ago I had an open mind about the campaign and was on the whole inclined to vote for Willkie because I disliked the idea of a third term and because in a number of ways I was disappointed with the present administration. I have quite changed my mind, however, and shall vote for the reëlection of the President. There are at least two reasons which are decisive with me:

First, we cannot afford the interregnum of two months or more which would follow a change of administration. Knowing what we do of the manner in which Hitler exploits domestic crises to his own purposes, we do not need much imagination to conceive of the manner in which he would exploit the virtual nonexistence of a government in the United States from November until January.

Second, I do not want to see Hamilton Fish chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, nor Hiram Johnson the liaison officer between a Republican President and the Senate. Furthermore, I am convinced that the defeat of Roosevelt will be universally interpreted in Eu-

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rope as a repudiation of his foreign policy and therefore as an encouragement to Germany, Italy and Japan.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

Against Willkie, whose nomination at this crisis is a mighty bad sign—and God help us if our votes don't bury him in oblivion. For Roosevelt. FDR has made plenty of mistakes, of which the most tragic was his failure to help Spain at an hour when the progressive elements in France and Britain might have gone over the top with our encouragement; and of all of which, I believe, the chief cause is his insufficient trust in the people. But his heart, and his head too, are in the right place. The third-term-dictator scare has no foundation in the character or will of FDR, being merely a register of our weak self-confidence in our democracy. Incidentally, FDR's running mate, Henry Wallace, is one of the best men in the country.

WALDO FRANK

For a good many years, I have made it a rule to vote for principle rather than for expediency. The immediate consequence has never seemed to me to be important as compared with the ultimate aim. So, well content to be true to my convictions, and happy that I need formulate no desperate explanations and apologies for voting either for Roosevelt or Willkie, I shall cast my vote for Norman Thomas.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

As a Socialist I should naturally vote for Norman Thomas, but unhappily in this election his legs are not long enough to reach the ground.

That leaves me the practical alternative of the actual Roosevelt or the mythical Willkie, and the myth does not smile at me.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER JR.

I will vote for Roosevelt. His personal weaknesses are serious; and his failure to follow through his words with actions may, at a critical moment, put him on the side of the appeasers. But neither Mr. Willkie's words nor his actions have convinced me that he is Mr. Roosevelt's superior in any respect; while his notion that American democracy can be saved only by giving business men the opportunity to bring on another economic crisis—like that produced by the policy of "free enterprise" and exuberant profit-seeking in the nineteen twenties—is an example of almost incredible economic naïveté. Mr. Willkie proposes that the American people should make sacrifices and the business men should make gains. To the extent that Mr. Roosevelt reverses this formula he has my support.

LEWIS MUMFORD

I am going to vote for Roosevelt for both negative and positive reasons. Negatively, I am going to vote for Roosevelt because Willkie, the man and his ideas, is unworthy to be President of the United States; and because the Republican Party is not only the party of reaction but is also potentially if not actually the party of appeasement and totalitarianism. Positively, I am going to vote for Roosevelt because he and his wonderful wife have remade the lumbering old Democratic Party into a creative force for democracy, and because Roosevelt himself has become in a totalitarian world the foremost symbol of democracy.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

Facts speak louder than words. I live in the Pacific Northwest. Franklin D. Roosevelt has done more for this region than any other President. Since he entered the White House dry uplands have been reclaimed, thousands of farms electrified, forest and mineral resources developed and conserved, and the Columbia River has been put at work generating hydroelectricity and moving the products of the Inland Empire. Senator Charles L. McNary, Republican vice-presidential nominee, gallantly participated in bringing all this about, but Wendell Willkie achieved fame harassing a similar program on the other side of the continent. I vote for Roosevelt.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

In view of international relations, I shall vote for Norman Thomas. He is the only presidential candidate who seems to understand that in our civilization learning to get on with people you disagree with or dislike makes for progress, and that going to war, whether the war is declared or undeclared, lost or won, is a cultural setback.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

1. I shall definitely *not* vote for Willkie. Having spent a good part of the summer going into his past business record in detail for a series of articles now running in The Chicago Times (advt.), and having found so much that is discreditable that even the New Republic supplement (pardon me) read to me like a semi-whitewash, I am convinced that Willkie's election, at this time, would seriously endanger democratic government in this country.

2. I may vote for Roosevelt—for the third time. I am, of course, 100 percent for the domestic New Deal. I am thoroughly aware that the third-term tradition is a historical accident—and that argument based on it is woefully uninformed or intellectually dishonest. But I have opposed and mistrusted from the beginning FDR's pro-war foreign policy (while favoring intelligent *hemisphere* defense)—and the more FDR leans toward Anglophiles like Stimson and The New York Times, and toward world-savers like the White committee, the more I fear he's heading, inevitably if not deliberately, toward *foreign* war. Therefore,

3. I may vote for Norman Thomas—as an anti-war protest, *if* the election looks in the bag for Roosevelt. If it looks close, I shall vote for FDR in order to vote effectively *against* Willkie.

FRED RODELL

These are the issues, as I see them: (1) We must build efficiently the defenses of the Western Hemisphere—including more of such mutually satisfactory bargains as the trade of boats for bases; (2) we should avoid directly involving ourselves in a war for which we are not materially or spiritually prepared—a war whose aims are still contradictory to me for the same reasons that they are wholly acceptable to Nicholas Murray Butler; (3) we must expand, whether at war or peace, that social-economic extension of democracy known as the New Deal. If, as at present, the election of Roosevelt seems certain, I shall vote for Norman Thomas. If it seems in doubt, I shall vote for Roosevelt. For the curb on my "protest vote" against half-measures will be the thought that it might oblige me to fight later for an obsolete system with obsolete weapons.

SELDEN RODMAN

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# Washington Notes

## It's Up to Mr. Chiang

AS NEARLY AS I CAN DETERMINE, the initiative in the Far East still lies with Japan. There is no use, consequently, in asking here whether war is approaching or not. The answer is halfway around the world in Tokyo. Beyond the imposition of the scrap-iron embargo on October 16, the administration plans no hostile move. On the other hand, it will not back down. The widely circulated accusation that Mr. Sumner Welles is willing to go a certain distance towards soothing the Japanese is apparently true. But Mr. Welles's pacificatory tendencies are restricted to diplomatic phrases. On basic policy, the State Department and the administration are—as Mr. Hull has said—united.

The plain fact is that the administration wasn't ready for Japan's push into Indo-China and her adherence to the Axis. It needs an interval of truce in order to make preparations, the most obvious of which is the evacuation of American nationals from the Shanghai area. Whether or not negotiations have been completed with England for the use of Singapore by a joint Anglo-Dutch-American naval force is a matter of the deepest secrecy. In any case, the equally necessary arrangements for the use of the Dutch bases in Java and Sumatra have probably still to be made.

Meanwhile, each fresh act of Japanese provocation is to be met on our side by an act of economic retaliation. There are three main steps that we might take, and they present more difficulties than I think are generally realized. The first two are the embargoing of cotton and the placing of a prohibitive tariff on raw silk. These would, of course, bring bitter protests from the Southern cotton states and from the much smaller body of silk-mill owners and workers. It is estimated that perhaps a third of the present silk-weaving industry would be unable to shift to rayon or nylon, and would have to close down. It would take considerable political courage on Mr. Roosevelt's part to embargo cotton, or to shut off silk. In one case, he would have to meet a revolt of the Southern Senators; in the other, it might cost him New Jersey in the election.

A third step would be to extend the present embargo on aviation gasoline to include oil of all categories. Such a gesture would be broken-backed unless we were joined by Mexico, Venezuela and other smaller producers among the Central and South American countries. These countries are anything but eager to break off trade relations with Japan, and the administration is understandably hesitant about putting pressure on them. Nevertheless, it is believed that the administration will take all three of these steps if pushed to it.

If I understand the administration's plans, there will be no immediate shooting war no matter what the Japanese do at Shanghai. Once American nationals have evacuated—if Japan continues in her present course—the Fourth Marines and the Yangtze patrol will follow, and the Japanese can behave as they like. The shooting war will begin only when the Japanese attempt to strike southwestward toward the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and the Straits Settlements. The administration fully expects the Japanese to do this once we place an embargo on oil shipments from this hemisphere, even though the Dutch have promised to dynamite their wells rather than let the Japanese get them. When the Japanese strike, an American squadron, assisted by British, Australian and Dutch vessels, and based on Singapore, is supposed to seek out and destroy the Japanese expedition.

However, as far as my information goes, the main element of a Japanese-American war would be something quite different. It would be aid, *via* the Burma Road, to Chiang Kai-shek, far off in his river fastnesses. About this, the administration maintains deathly secrecy. But Admiral Yarnell, recent commander of the American Asiatic Squadron and a great Far Eastern expert, has said substantially this publicly. Chiang would be able to put up a very effective show with extremely limited aid—machine guns and machine-gun ammunition, primarily. Chiang is the administration's, and the Churchill Cabinet's, trump card.

There are three general observations that need to be made about the administration's policy. The first is that our admirals have monumental contempt for the Japanese navy—a contempt that doubtless has communicated itself to Mr. Roosevelt. They look on the Japanese as sailors about the way that the world looks on the Italians as soldiers. If ever it is decided to divide our battle fleet, now at Pearl Harbor, and send a portion of it to Singapore, this contempt will be the unexpressed premise on which such a decision—usually a dispersion of forces would be held fatal—will be made.

Again, I am satisfied that the State Department sees clearly that the Far East is necessarily a sideshow. The main tent is Europe. While the Allies and the United States were involved in Europe during the 1914-18 war, you will recall, Japan romped up and down the Asiatic mainland, taking over the Yangtze valley (by the Mishihara agreements), the whole of Manchuria and a great mouthful of Siberia. But, in the 1922 Washington Conference, Japan shrank suddenly back to her natural size, even surrendering Shantung, bought by the blood of Japanese troops. If England wins the present war in Europe, the State Department believes that history can be made to repeat itself.

Finally, there is no real reason to think that a shooting war in the Far East will ever come. The Japanese cannot directly attack Hawaii or the American mainland; we cannot directly attack the central Japanese islands. The administration thinks, or fears, that Japan will attack the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, but that is sheer guesswork. Just because of the vast watery wastes between the United States and Japan, all predictions about the course of a future war ought to be skeptically received.

In last week's Notes, mention was made of the difficult course of United States-Russian relations. Since then Under-Secretary Welles and Ambassador Oumansky have had further talks, and I am informed that the initiative for resuming them came from the Russian side. It is easy to guess that Mr. Stalin wants to reëstablish a relationship

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with the Anglo-American bloc, and distrusting England, wishes to act through Washington. However, I am also informed that Mr. Oumansky was still intent on recovering the machine tools that the United States Army hijacked as they were awaiting shipment to Russia. Apparently no machine tools, no high politics. It can be foreseen that the Welles-Oumansky talks will be long and tortuous, but, since the United States and the USSR, together with England, have a vital interest in stiffening Chiang Kai-shek's resistance, they ought eventually to yield results.

*Washington* T. R. B.

# Other People's Money

## Chestnuts, Rubber and Democracy

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY has certainly gotten around into some strange back alleys. We began by proclaiming our adhesion to a war waged by England and France for democracy in England and France. But we are now over in the Pacific meditating a crusade to save the democracy of England, France and Holland in Java, British Malaya and Indo-China. The notion seems to be that the 20,000,000 people who live in Indo-China under the dominion of some 4,000 French officials are enjoying some form of democracy that we must preserve to them at the risk of war with Japan. There are also some 1,300,000 Malayans or more in British Malaya, governed by a group of Sultans under British protection from Singapore. In the Dutch East Indies there are 53,000,000 people who are governed by a governor-general and a council named by the democratic process of appointment by the Queen of Holland in Europe.

Will anyone pretend that we have any notion of going to war in Asia in order to release these peoples from the yoke of empire under which they now live? As nearly as I can make out the object, if we do go to war, is to perpetuate the yoke, to make certain that these Eastern people shall continue under the imperial dominion of Western empires rather than under their own governments or the dominion of another Eastern empire.

Of course we are reminded that it is from these countries —British Malaya, Indo-China, Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies—that we get our rubber and that we are in danger of having our rubber supplies wiped out, making it necessary for our automobiles to go about sadly run down at heel.

Of course this is pure pretense. We do get our rubber supplies from these countries—95 percent of them. And, for the time being, there is nothing we can do about that. We can develop synthetic rubber plants, as we are doing, but this will take time. We can encourage rubber production in South America, from which we get about five percent of our raw materials. But this too will take time. So there is nothing we can do about our rubber supply for the time being but to get it from these countries—particularly British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies.

The question arises, then, are we contemplating war in order to protect these rubber supplies? Before that we have to ask, are these supplies in danger? No matter what country owns the Malayan islands or the Dutch islands or Indo-China, the principal industry of those places is the production of rubber. They sell at least 50 percent of what they produce to us. In 1939 British Malaya produced 375,000 tons of rubber and exported to us 300,000 tons. So that we were their one big customer.

Now, no matter who has these islands, what will they do with the rubber? It is hardly edible. There are no customers any place in the world to take our place. To whom will they sell the rubber? Does anyone suppose that any nation controlling these islands would refuse to sell us rubber and bankrupt the islands? Every nation in the world is eager to sell its surplus products. Every one of them wants to sell to us those things we need. To suppose that our rubber supply will be cut off by a change in ownership in these places in the East is the veriest nonsense. I am not arguing for any change. I am wondering what difference it will make to us so far as our rubber supply is concerned.

As a matter of fact, the quickest way to interrupt our rubber supplies would be to engage in war in the Pacific. Japan could not come over here and fight us. But she could beyond doubt play havoc with our trade in the East and probably prevent Dutch, British and French plantation owners from trading with us until the war is over. When the war comes to its end, in that case, the trade in rubber would be resumed and nothing would have checked it save the war itself.

Actually neither the preservation of democracy in these great colonial dependencies where over 75,000,000 people are held under the colonial yokes of three empires, nor the protection of our rubber supplies has anything to do with the war we are deliberately provoking in the East. There is another purpose behind it. And the people of the United States ought to be taken into the secret.

Certainly one purpose is that it is a part of our general plan to aid England short of war. Aiding Britain in England to preserve her democracy is one thing. Aiding her in a quarrel as to who shall own 75,000,000 people in the East—Japan or England, France and Holland—is quite another. Apparently our government is attempting to create a situation where it can step in upon some plausible pretext to share with England her base at Singapore. Of course, "sharing the base" is a euphemism for something very different. England owns Malaya. She exploits it. What she does there is not democracy. She cannot guard that possession. She cannot guard Singapore, which is her great fortress in the East. She is anxious to turn that job over to us. I do not blame England for that. It is natural. But are we mad enough to be drawn into such a deal? She will give us a half-interest in that danger spot. We will therefore guard our half—and incidentally hers.

It is a very serious question whether we could guard our half. I am no military or naval expert. But I heard a naval expert—Admiral Leahy, the President's chief naval adviser and until last year commander of the American Navy—tell a Senate Committee that we could not fight an aggressive war in Asia if we had three times as many ships as we planned to add to the navy.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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# First Century Problems

*Journey to Jerusalem, by Maxwell Anderson. National Theatre, October 4, 1940.*

MR. MAXWELL ANDERSON showed us long ago that he could write a box-office show if he chose, all up and down the scale of popularity. He has taken a far more risky field in his new play, "Journey to Jerusalem." The play's theme is serious and essentially poetic: the development in this young boy's mind, amidst his mother's and father's faith, and patriots, fanatics, prophets, of a realization that he is the Messiah, the embodiment of the ancient dream of his race. The idea is, further, that this comes to pass during that journey up to the sacred city, for the Passover. And wtih this theme is combined a kind of delivery from Hitlerism—in this case Rome.

I can only honor Mr. Anderson for his dream and purpose, his departure quite knowingly from theatre surefire, his choice of timelessness and Parnassus—or Galilee. As for me, I am humble before the prospect of that endeavor. I have only the remotest notion as to how this material, in the face of our present-day audiences, their ignorance, indifference, bewilderment or blind acceptance of tradition, could be handled. I have no idea how such a play should be written. I can merely suggest that, whatever the play is to be, the dramatist must be sure to achieve one, and one single and only, *tone* for the whole of it—this tone arriving, of course, consistently, *in toto* and in each and in every moment of the play. How this can be done without years of tradition and experience behind one's effort, to supply its current, or channel, I don't pretend to know. Nor how long a time would be needed, both in the playwright's study and within the practical theatre, to discover the proper tone, dramatic medium, style. Obviously, the theatre elements involved, such as the directing, the decor, the acting, must in their turn achieve a unified style, and for this style they must take their cue from the style of the play.

I have often wondered how, if it were put up to me to do so, I should produce a play dealing with Biblical material treated thus in a more or less modern tone and with an intention of simplicity. If I were dealing with a play in some given kind—for example, a medieval mystery like the well known play of the shepherds, or a Biblical piece in the French classical manner like Racine's "Athalie," or a peasant devotional drama such as might come out of the Tyrol—I might know some line to take.

I might take any one of these approaches, or treaments, and find, or study from theatrical traditions and imitate, some unified method to run through all parts of it. But in a play intended for this simple, modern tone, the problem is quite different. The best solution of it that I have been able to think of would be to try for a certain effect of modern Palestinian life, not too remote from us for simple recognition but far enough off to convey an air of difference.

As for this actual production it can be said to be without artiness, pictorial reminders in the Victorian-Irving style—an easy triumph for the most part in memory-culture and stale things. Mr. Jo Mielziner's settings are at times beautiful, nearly always effective, and always guided by a kind of luminous economy of means. Miss Milia Davenport's costumes are excellent; and as is invariably true of this designer, they are in every case admirably figured to the wearer. That this décor in general is best for the play is another matter. Perhaps in this case, as often, our theatre resources are punished by their very riches and get with difficulty through the gates of heaven. A few old clothes, rags, homely inventions, might have been more moving; plus a setting of any old thing to be found in the storeroom of a theatre. Who knows? I certainly do not. But I should be closer to knowing if there were some one tone, some single stylistic approach, *genre*, that I could discover in the play as a whole, and could cope with in any conception of its right and proper theatre investiture.

Meanwhile we should note that any treatment of the Biblical story, in whatever department that may fall, has to go up against the Bibliolatry—Bible worship, shall we call it?—developed in the Anglo-Saxon mind to a degree that so far as I know not another country affords. The Greek original, for this story, based mainly, we are told, on St. Luke's gospel, is closer to Mr. Anderson's conception than is the English gospel version that is known and accepted, quoted, and more or less lived by, among us. For a time the Greek of that account was thought merely some humble, debased literary style. The discoveries at Oxyrynchus (during the eighteen nineties) of countless papyri from everyday Greek life, business and otherwise, proved indisputably that the style of the New Testament was merely the contemporaneous popular Greek. Our traditional ecclesiastical translation, therefore, is a long way from the plane of the original prose. By statistical count, the King James version of the Bible, which is the one accepted and followed, is 80-percent Tyndale, a hundred years earlier and represents the Jacobean added to the splendor of the Renaissance, a passionate simplicity of style, both trenchant and ornate. How to push the memory of that familiar, superimposed style out of our minds is one of Mr. Anderson's chief problems.

I may say, too, that the conception of the whole Jewish race as martyrs to the world's redemption does not accord with history and does not seem to me to further the play. The first definite entrance of Rome into Palestine is directly due to the fact that two brothers were contending for the throne and made golden overtures and invitations to Pompey, who found the City of Jerusalem for one brother, the Temple priests for the other. That was the beginning of Rome's rule over Judea. To push the comparison with Hitler is not only bad history; it lets Hitler off too easy, the internal strife among the Jews themselves was part of the trouble. We should gain, I think, by making the play move within great and intense traits, hopes, dreams, undercurrents, of revolt, violent memory, spiritual passion, austerity and intensity, in a certain historical moment, and in certain members of the race—Jesus' father and mother, Inshmael, the pilgrims, wild hill-people and so on. Mr. Elmer Rice's directing seems to me wise, everything considered. The acting is what we might expect, but is sincere, serious, blurred.

Except on the basis of the utmost simplicity of style—a large order!—our actors have no way to learn even how to rehearse this kind of play.

STARK YOUNG

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# Film Ups and Downs

THE PRESENT REMAKE of "They Knew What They Wanted" gives Garson Kanin another chance to come through with some fine picture-making (an Erich Pommer production; screen play, Robert Ardrey; camera, Harry Stradling; music, Alfred Newman). If you remember, the story goes pretty thoroughly to pieces in the end, and of course since it's a case of a girl getting slightly That Way a great deal of attention has to be spent on putting a halo behind the priest as big as a dishpan, and Charles Laughton is starred and has formerly been known to steal everything in a picture that wasn't nailed down, and Carole Lombard's part is straight-dramatic, which is not the style to which she is accustomed—on the whole it required quite a deal of director's patience and skill, and got it.

Most of the film is simple and touching and funny, just about people: an Italian ranch-owner in the California Valley, dumb but with a heart the size of your hat; a cute trick of a waitress who takes him sight unseen for his money and comes to love him, though a little late, as his foreman has been at her; a padre; a doctor; the natives. It rolls along at its good leisure through some very clever business with Tony's making his heart up for the girl and getting into a correspondence courtship that is no whirlwind on either end, and into worse trouble when he is afraid to send her his picture, and a pretty hilarious first meeting on the ranch, and a marvelously done fiesta, as a climax to which Tony breaks both his fool legs.

You hear a lot about masters at the mob scene, but there is really unbeatable work here in the natural shift and color of many people, first in games and dances, then in horror, then converging on the house as a doctor comes out, many voices in a background pattern of sound, a word here and there, the whole rising then falling away as the people hear the news and go away hushed. There is more drama to this per film foot than in the whole climax of violence, when Tony finds out about his foreman and beats him rather ineffectively; and there is another kind of drama Kanin has done very well, in the quiet after the fiesta, when the boy and girl get together on the attraction-repulsion basis.

But it is at about this time that the issue begins to cloud, for they are never quite sure how to get around the character of William Gargan as the foreman, whether he is a villain (the Hays office says so) and just how much, and what to do with him for the rest of the story. They end up by making him 51-percent villain and Miss Lombard reselved *never* to do a thing like that again, and with a hint of expiation but the stern need to go away for the present, and wtih Tony forgiving but only because he is so *big*, and the halo lighting up desperately like 5,000 watts.

There are some fine things in the last part, words said and actions taken, the sentimental and the gay too; Laughton is fine as the Italo-American, almost letter-perfect and very jocund; Miss Lombard is at her best; and Harry Carey is as wonderful and right as ever—he is cast as the country doctor and damned if I wouldn't let him operate right now, though as he says, "Lady, the things I don't know you could herd like cows." Everyone does the best with what he's got, and there is no truth lost by the way—*in fact there is some truth achieved in it that we* don't often get. But there is that story uncertainty and that forced ending; and so you have to admit that it wobbles on its pins occasionally at the same time you say that for dialogue, acting, background and film creation it's a honey.

"The Long Voyage Home" will hold your interest as a picture, I think, for all its aimlessness and general failure to add up to anything. John Ford and Dudley Nichols made it out of several old O'Neill one-actors, and it runs of as a series of incidents in a ship's life, the only one with any particular meaning being the last, in which it is simply shown that sailors are always swearing they're through and shipping over. Three others are adventure pieces: the girls who bring rum into the ship; the sailor who gets killed by the runaway anchor; the sailor falsely suspected of being an enemy in the hysteria of crossing the war zone —this last given a modern touch by Stuka divers and machine guns.

Where the picture excels is in the truth of atmosphere and the kind of tension that is built up in character. Here, in the dark sides of an old tramp at dock, in the focsle, the cluttered busy decks, the bows under water, etc., Ford and his camera, Gregg Toland, have an effective use for the half-lighting and dark masses—together with the realism of detail—Ford likes so much. And though this always tends to make it seem more than it really is, it is good background for the work of Thomas Mitchell, Ward Bond, Ian Hunter, John Wayne, Wilfrid Lawson and the three Abbey Players: Barry Fitzgerald, Arthur Shields and J. M. Kerrigan. These people make fine things out of parts of it, and indeed make most of the picture, for without their steady talent you would have seen the bare bones of its loose construction, and that it goes nowhere interminably. It is occasionally way overdone but generally true to life and I suppose we might concentrate on how it would have been worse, rather than on the fact that it should have been better. OTIS FERGUSON

*Two in the Lower Bin.* – "The Howards of Virginia" is an expensive spectacle based on the best-seller by Elizabeth Page, "The Tree of Liberty." It has the fluidity of a series of vaguely-related slides seen through an old-fashioned stereoptican, and the warmth and life of an issue of National Geographic. All the actors (Carey Grant included) move like figures in a school pageant or a game of charades (it may be the tight-fitting breeches and the powdered wigs) so that almost never do you feel the passions, the deeply-held loyalties, the inner conflicts, that must have motivated these early revolutionaries. The fault, of course, may be a too close following of the original story. . . . "Strike Up the Band" should obviously have been called "Strike Up Mickey Rooney." He is given every chance to display his talents (and they are many) as a drummer, an indifferent lover, comedian, dancer, dutiful and appreciative son and self-sacrificing friend. It's a noisy and exhausting two hours (with about as much originality of plot as you've come to expect from musical comedies) and you leave convinced only of the unquestionable versatility of the young star. – M. B.

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# The Bandwagon

FOR SALE—Good violin or will trade for firearms. Albert Sims, West Middletown, Pa. – *Advertisement in The Washington (Pa.) Reporter.*

Two fashion talks will constitute the program planned by the Business-Girls-for-Willkie club for Monday at 5:45 P.M. in suite K, Nicolet Hotel. – *From an item in The Minneapolis Star-Journal.*

MY WIFE'S RELATIVES—THEY WON'T FORGET. – *Ad for a North Side movie house from The Chicago Tribune.*

### Gimme!

With his usual candor and frankness, Willkie says "I want to carry California." – *From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

### Right Church, Wrong Munich

Chamberlain quit his position at the head of the still dominant Conservative Party and told Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in a characteristically perky letter of "My unshaken confidence that under your leadership this country, with her Allies and associates, will succeed in overlooking the forces of barbarism which have reduced a great part of Europe to a condition little better than slavery." – *AP dispatch in The Philadelphia Record.*

### They Hope

ROOSEVELT'S LEAD MOUNTS IN SURVEY. Gallup Study Gives 499 Electoral Votes to 32 for Willkie. BUT RACE IS STILL CLOSE. – *Headline in The New York Times.*

### Excepting Your Dog Died

According to Holgar J. Johnson, of New York, president of the Institute of Life Insurance, which acts as a clearing house for insurance information, the French companies, as late as the first week in August, had suffered "no upsetting conditions of any kind."

"The only adverse effect reported," Johnson told newspapermen, "was that the volume of new business was down to as little as two percent of pre-war sales." – *From The Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

### Woman's Work Is Never Done

BIRTHDAY. Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt, Hyde Park matriarch who once wrote a book titled "My Boy Franklin"; her 86th. – *From Time Magazine.*

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

# Correspondence

## The British Tradition

SIR: Herewith a piece from The (London) Tablet of August 17 which I think both very funny and very sad:

A SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL

The English do not put dead dogs into water supplies, and if there are instructors at the school for the Home Guard at Osterley who advocate such methods of warfare, those in charge of the school should silence or remove them. We understand that this school is not in any sense official, but we cannot expect foreign opinion to make these distinctions. It is no service to the country for the BBC or papers like The Sunday Dispatch, to give, without reprobation, accounts of a training conceived in a tradition happily so remote from the tradition of the British army. A number of these Osterley trainers are ex-members of the International Brigade in Spain, a fact which plays straight into the hands of enemy propagandists, who ask nothing better than to be able to represent the defense of Britain as strictly parallel to the defense of Catalonia by a people's army, full of a raw courage, but with no proper military organization or spirit or equipment, and destined for equally quick and catastrophic rout.

By Catalonia I suppose they mean Republican Spain. Interesting to note what the people's army with raw courage did compared to the exploits of armies with "tradition." Figuring Loyalist resistance from November, 1936, when the lines were more or less solidified, until the fall of Catalonia in February, 1939, you have twenty-six months of resistance. The French army had a tradition. So did the Polish army. So did the British army that got caught at Dunkirk. Cromwell's army had no tradition. Nor did the armies of the French Revolution.

I wonder what the British put in the wells of the Egyptian oases that they evacuate? Bath salts?

*New York City* JAY ALLEN

## The Randolph Bourne Chair

SIR: Since John T. Flynn is under fire, not only from some of your readers but also from your own editorial staff, I want to be counted on his side. His seems to be the only clear eye and understanding mind in your paper.

Mr. Flynn is doing the same splendid work in this war that Randolph Bourne did in the last war—and with about the same reward.

It is my hope that Mr. Flynn may live, as Randolph Bourne did not live, to see himself vindicated and acclaimed.

*New York City* JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

## Not Fit to Print

SIR: The New York Times took pains to whitewash the address of Mr. Merwin K. Hart, president of the New York State Economic Council, by a lengthy apologetic editorial. The inclosed letter on the subject was returned by The Times for lack of space. Perhaps you may have the space to print it.

[ENCLOSURE]

SIR: The address of Mr. Merwin K. Hart, president of the New York State Economic Council before the Union League Club on September 19, was not nearly as surprising as the Times editorial devoted to the address on September 21.

Mr. Hart's remarks were completely intelligible and consistent. He declared "it is time to brush aside this word 'democracy' with its connotations." He spoke of the "tougher products that result from a fascist education." He attacked the hapless refugees, who have found shelter in the United States as coming here "lawfully or unlawfully" and "through mysterious methods." His attitude toward the present war is identical with

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that of the Nazi-dominated Vichy government: "What irresponsible force prevailed upon Britain and France to declare war against Germany when, in point of fact, both Britain and France were wholly unprepared for war? Possibly light will be thrown upon it by the current trials of former high French officials."

He identified "democracy," "liberalism" and "communism" in the best fascist tradition.

Why The New York Times, which has defended democracy both here and abroad, should be at pains to reassure its readers that "Mr. Hart probably didn't mean to upset the Constitution," and "we don't think Mr. Hart meant to align himself with such an enemy," is difficult to understand.

*Rockaway Park, N. Y.* ROBERT GORDIS

## The Life of Machine Tools

SIR: I feel that you have done your magazine harm by publishing the articles by Melvin M. Fagen [September 2 and 9]. Blurb regarding Mr. Fagen does not indicate his technical qualifications. Just why a man who has "served as a relief administrator" should be qualified to pass on production problems in the United States and France I do not know. Statement in the first article to the effect that a large percentage of machine tools are more than ten years old is just silly when applied to potential production in this country. Does this percentage apply to: (1) Number of machine tools? (2) Value of machine tools? (3) Output value of each machine tool?

Any man connected with manufacturing knows that 99 percent of all machine tools are serviceable after ten years (and by percent I mean number of tools). However, even if every machine tool in the United States were ten years old this would have practically no bearing on wartime production because practically all quantity production is now performed on tools especially designed for the article to be produced or (as in the case of punch presses, etc.) readily adaptable to mass production of a new piece. A punch press is certainly not worn out in ten years.

*Milwaukee, Wis.* R. B. HUNTER

P.S. You ought to get a few more like T. R. B.

## Committee on Election Rights

SIR: Today I would hesitate to predict the future of American democracy. Into the office of the Committee on Election Rights —1940, every day come telegrams and letters from all over the nation, telling of restrictions of the right to vote. In twenty-seven states election rights have been violated by ruling minority parties off the ballot on flimsy charges, through terror, intimidation and arrest of ordinary citizens.

In every state, these violations follow the same pattern: Newspapers whip up local hysteria, the Dies Committee sends frightening letters, local prosecutors' offices send police and detectives to intimidate petition signers and grand juries indict election workers on trumped-up charges.

The Committee on Election Rights—1940 has been formed to safeguard election rights. Part of our job is the preparation of reports on violations of election rights, copies of which may be obtained at the Committee office, Room 1209, 100 Fifth Avenue.

*New York City* DASHIELL HAMMETT, *Chairman*

## Report Card

SIR: I have just been reviewing the articles on national defense in The New Republic and The Nation since 1930 and I must admit that I do not share the feeling of some of your correspondents who accuse you of inconsistency in these last few months. Both you and Mr. Oswald G. Villard were pretty caustic during the mid-thirties as to Mr. Roosevelt's big-navy program. From this distance one can scarcely understand Mr. Villard's violent lurch to the Right in support of the Republican position on defense, unless this is a symptom of many other liberals throughout the country.

Your gradual shift toward a safe position on rearmament, while retaining the critical faculties toward any trend toward a munitions racket, provides a continuing reason for my nearly twenty years of subscription. This, despite an occasional aberrant article by the omniscient Mr. John T. Flynn.

*Chattanooga, Tenn.* FRANK W. PRESCOTT

## *From The New Republic Mail Bag*

Our correspondent who specializes in the want-ad sections sends in a recent New York Herald Tribune insertion of the National Employment Exchange. After the usual twenty come-on items ("A/C PAYab; Chr.; Bklyn resid. $18-20. STENO, knowl. bkpg. or monit. bd.; construc. help; rap. advancement; Chr., $15") the Exchange uses its largest type to say "DICTATORSHIP or the AMERICAN WAY. A Hand-out or a real job: which do YOU want? The approaching election will give you a chance to determine which of these you will get." Our staff specialist in National Exchanges and Personal Placements says you'll get the same brush-off they used to peddle under Hoover and every President under the sun: "When you show up in a line of forty to fifty at nine A.M. for the job they advertise," he says, "it's the same every morning of the entire racket: by noon you get through to the PERS MGR, Chr., Advct, $30 to be told that the American Way is Nothing Today."

George F. Colwell heard Payne Ratner moving into his home town of Glasco, Kansas, with a mobile p.a. system and decided to become one of our reporting readers. Ratner is Republican candidate for reëlection as Governor out there and Mr. Colwell says the Kansans are listening to the ballyhoo when they can't get away from it and saying that Ratner is Alf Landon's Charley McCarthy, attacking the third-term idea for somebody else while going up for his own fourth. Mr. Colwell is another addition to our string of friends who have never in their lives met anyone who was ever questioned by Dr. Gallup, who begins to seem like the sea serpent. And he claims that the Willkie play for the farm vote has gone so far as to get the complete list of subscribers and expires of both The Farmer's Wife and the Farm Journal and is sending out franked postcards telling Comrade Cornpatch how a vote for Willkie will grow hair on his tomatoes. "When The Farm Journal addressed these for Mr. Willkie they didn't even bother to delete the expiration date or other serial numbers used for their files." . . . Caroline Burks lets us have one from Chicago saying we ought to raise John T. Flynn's pay. "Mr. Flynn never shoots but what he hits the target." She also praises Malcolm Cowley's article in the September 23 issue, "This Man's Army," but does not demand a raise in pay for him.

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# Books in Review

## Unfinished Business: Kipling

RUDYARD KIPLING seldom affected to be other than what he was: whether as the inky schoolboy Beetle, as an Anglo-Indian newspaperman or as a craftsman whose job was to construct tales and verses. His self-imposed function throughout his fifty-odd volumes was to amuse, awake, move, scold, console, exhibit and introduce to each other several millions of men plus a few women, whom he regarded (together with their flags, uniforms, animals, machines, ceremonies, ships, games, tenants, professions, habits, pains, jokes, loves and revenges) as constituting the British Empire. At this job, like a latter-day St. Paul, he worked all his life, driving his words in as if they were nails with noisy hammer blows of direct and provocative statement. He even made attempts now and then to speak with the tongues of men and of angels. On many of these occasions it befell that, not having charity, he became as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. With or without charity, in so far as he could see, he saw himself as an apostle of empire. In that role he took first the Army, the Navy, the Civil Service, business, the professions, the skilled workers and the middle class of Britain, and by the Grace of God, India and the Dominions Overseas, as being in his view the nerves and vitals of the British Empire; and Labor, the Nobility, the Church and the Crown he accepted as the subservient limbs, toes and fingers of the organism, awfully important but not entirely indispensable. With this cult of the Empire, Kipling, we felt, began and ended; so, or in such wise, it had always seemed. . . .

Now comes Mr. Edward Shanks, in an essay on Kipling's work and politics,[1] and makes an attempt entirely to redefine Kipling's hitherto-accepted political position. If I understand Mr. Shanks, he regards Kipling as being no Tory but a sort of Fabian; or at any rate an independent Liberal. This conclusion rests on Mr. Shanks's thesis that Kipling's symbol for the British Empire was Hadrian's Wall, which protected Britain from the Picts; that the "lesser breeds without the Law" ("Recessional") meant that all outside the confines of the British Empire were barbarians; and "the Law," Mr. Shanks says, "means that arrangement of life under which the common man is enabled to do the best which is in him for himself, his family and the rest of the world, including the generations yet to come." (Those without the Wall were also naturally without the Law.) To support this theory Mr. Shanks touches upon certain facts which he appears to believe indicate Kipling's leaning away from conservatism toward what Mr. Shanks regards as the proper goal of civilization.

The argument is rather peculiar. At school Kipling was "something of an anti-militarist"; the headmaster at Westward Ho!, Cormell Price, "was a Gladstonian Liberal." Kipling was for "good government," was not deeply impressed by the government of India

> (God bless the Squire
> And all his rich relations,
> Who teach us poor people
> To keep our proper stations.
> . . . . . .
> We eat our proper rations, etc.

Mr. Shanks does not mention Kipling's deletion of these lines from the English editions of "Departmental Ditties," and from the inclusive editions of his verse.) Later Kipling referred to war as an "anachronism" in a story of the future called "Easy as A. B. C." Mr. Shanks explains this by suggesting that Kipling had only favored little old-fashioned wars, regarding them as a kind of game, but did not favor modern warfare, which had become so extremely destructive. Thus Kipling becomes almost a fellow traveler.

Mr. Shanks, discarding Kipling's lifelong conservatism as an illusion, does not consider the possibility that Kipling's political position may have been due to an artistic fascination with things as they were in the Empire: their color, their looks, their functions and symbols, their ranks and uses, their wheels and gauges and controls. Kipling may first have loved the Empire chiefly as a great spectacle, a drama and a mass of concrete reality. This could have had the result of making him, in politics, a royalist and an imperialist, his interest as a creative artist dragging him inevitably to the position he assumed.

When Mr. Shanks comes to Kipling's verse and prose, he is on a firmer footing. Pleasantly and with delicacy he picks his way among some of the less quoted lyrics, avoiding such abysms as "The Vampire" and some of the more purple and astronomical pieces. He moves at an easy pace, in no fixed direction, backward and forward through time, with an innocent discursiveness and an almost unearthly gentility. He chooses his quotations on some obscure principle of his own, so often putting Kipling's worst foot foremost that one cannot help wondering if the tendency is the result of nature or an effect of art.

In the treatment of the later work we encounter a fog bank. When he reaches stories such as "Dayspring Mishandled" and " The Wish House," Mr. Shanks seems more concerned with his own effects than with intelligible discussion of what Kipling was trying to do. All that Mr. Shanks can suggest is that in these last stories Kipling was preoccupied by the thought of death, that he had become a mystic and adopted an extinct cult called Mithraism, that he (figuratively) "hurried ahead . . . shouting sometimes over his shoulder phrases not easily understood. . . ." This may be so, or not. These last stories of Kipling's raise some rather fascinating questions. Mr. Shanks rouses our curiosity and hurries himself away.

The book is not a biography. There is a fragmentary sketch of Kipling's younger days which leaves off at the age of twenty-four and is not resumed. The style is that of

[1] Rudyard Kipling: A Study in Literature and Political Ideas, by Edward Shanks. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 267 pages. $2.50.

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a *causerie*, rather than that of a rounded essay. There are notable omissions, such as the failure even to mention "The Irish Guards," which contains some of the solidest work of Kipling's post-war period. The phantom that Mr. Shanks has so suavely evoked is related to the real Kipling about as those empty uniforms hung in military museums with a tin hat hitched drooping over the collar of the tunic are to living soldiers struggling in the dust and thunder of actual conflict.

The real Kipling still is enveloped in shadow, awaiting exposition on a basis not yet attempted. Questions remain unanswered that were posed fifty years ago by Henry James, Stevenson and others.

It is not enough to pigeonhole the Kipling *dossier*—does it go below or beside those of John Donne or Sir Walter Scott, or elsewhere? Kipling's style seems compounded from such sources as the Old Testament, Percy's Reliques, Browning, Maupassant, the music halls, military bands and bugle calls, cacophonic machinery noises and certain cadences from the Hindustani. Do these elements blend into a new metal, or only result in a rough mosaic? How much of the long thrill that went through the English-speaking world at his "Recessional" was due to sublime reporting and how much to an authentic distillation of the impalpable? What gives the adhesive quality of barnacles to such things as "Mandalay," "Danny Deever" or "Pig"?

They took Lungtungpen nakid; an' they'd take St. Petersburg
in their dhrawers!

or

Kabul town's by Kabul river;
Blow the bugle, draw the sword.

And—most baffling question of all—what was Kipling getting at in his later work? Are these merely the disguised repetitions of earlier themes or was he developing somewhat obscurely toward new matter touching on passion, mercy and desolation? May he have been approaching nearer the point described by the parodist:

If you can keep your head, when all about you
Are keeping theirs because they haven't one?

Time has a way of answering such questions: but if the slow process could have been accelerated by a scientific analysis of Rudyard Kipling's individuality and his work (especially from 1914 on), some of the data could not fail to give light on the psychology of the Briton under strain of particular interest to us just now.

CHAUNCEY HACKETT

## Night Club

After the legshows and the brandies
And all the pick-me-ups for tired
Men there is a feeling
Something more is required.

The lights go down and eyes
Look up across the room;
Salome comes in, bearing
The head of God knows whom.

LOUIS MACNEICE

# A Commissar on Spain

*The Great Crusade, by Gustav Regler, with a Preface by Ernest Hemingway. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 461 pages. $2.50.*

THERE HAVE BEEN other books on the International Brigade, but none like this one. Mr. Bessie's good book, "Men in Battle," described, even more than a body of men, an Event, rather in the way a man recreates a Legend. Vivid and hard-slogging as that book was, it was a comparative failure. It had little sense of character. The anguish of a corps of fighting men was in it, the searching, and at times the brooding thought, was not. True, that interior side may be dismissed as an irrelevance, as a mere product of the momentary irresoluteness of men who for the most part thought of themselves as unheroic artisans in a job of history. But one cannot make the Brigade understood that way.

The Great Crusade is different. One could write another book about the Eleventh, or the early days of the Fifteenth, but there is no need. Regler, who may not forgive me for saying that most men at Calle Velasquez in Madrid thought him the finest commissar of them all, has summed it all up in this novel of the Twelfth.

As a history it is incomplete, because Gustav Regler nearly met his death at Huesca in the summer of 1937, but its clinical exactness makes the end of the story unnecessary.

I want to get all the talk of fine description of action over and done with. Regler's skill goes far beyond that required to make one see the little dots crawling about the smoke-plumed hill across the valley, or to give one the same shock he felt when, after days of sightless fighting in a fog, the mist lifted and the lines of craters, broken trees and tumbled motorcycles were for a few minutes visible. "Kitchens and ambulances fled pell-mell behind the nearest hills. The cannon used the opportunity to take aim: they sank behind their shields, and ogled and ogled. . . . Directly in front of their line the Garibaldis saw an enemy tank: it was as surprised as they were; rising on its heavy legs, it lumbered back into the shelter of the village." He notes with precision the rare emotions of battle, such as that of the despairing Werner who walked through the swift hiss of machine-gun fire "in an ecstasy of indifference."

In the characterization of men there is not a single failure. The Communist General Paul (Lucasz), as fine a man as ever I met, just as the Communist General Gall, who sent Americans to their useless death out of insane egotism, was surely the most detestable; Moritz, the middle-aged irascible electrician, with his Jewish love of merchandise, scrambling after battles to salvage material (especially flashlights) for his brigade; Barna, the professional traitor, spying for the Polish police, who nevertheless performed acts of crazy heroism against the cavalry and the tanks of Franco, whom he was serving within the Brigade; Mishka, the White Russian turned Red, trying to get back to his beloved Moskva via Madrid. And finest of all, Werner, the non-Communist physician, the subtlest and most admirable mind of the Twelfth. These men were throbbing brains. Some were unbreakable and serene throughout, some had the greater courage of men who

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resist doubt. One watches them patch up their logics with thin wafers (Foch's word for reinforcements) of desperate thought, and go on fighting as bravely as the others. I think of some of those men of this latter kind in our own Fifteenth, and I am glad. There's Tommy Wintringham, barrister debarred for his opinions in England, and Hugh Slater, fine painter and critic, rewarded for gallantry at Brunete, there's Fred Copeman, who gave up well-to-do comfort to lead the English battalion and had the courage to tell the murderous Gall to go to hell that April day and so saved scores of English lives; there's Vernon, Ricci, and there's Hubert, and I'm glad they are now teaching the men of London how to fight the old enemies the Brigade once fought in Spain.

It is a sad, but not a despairing book. In these days any honest book must be sad, for there has been failure in places where one had not expected it. And to come to the essential quality of "The Great Crusade," I will say that it is "anti-Manichean." André Malraux, another saddened but far from despairing man, in the German concentration camp where he is now reported to be, would understand the remark. In "Man's Hope," he had put the problem of the activist as clearly as any man who himself has not lived in an ivory tower, red or white. "The great intellectual," says Malraux's Garcia, "is a man of subtleties, of fine shades, of evaluations. . . . He is—how shall I put it?—anti-Manichean. But all forms of action are Manichean, because all action pays a tribute to the devil. Every revolutionary is a born Manichean."

"The Great Crusade" refutes Garcia. It is the scrupulous book of an intellectual and a man of action who refused in action or in saddened afterthought, to pay tribute to the devil.

RALPH BATES

# A Catholic Poet

*Weep and Prepare, by Raymond E. F. Larsson. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 168 pages. $2.50.*

RAYMOND LARSSON'S way of writing derives initially from that of Ezra Pound:

> we sighed
> , crossing the Piazza, sunwise
> toward light, the sun, the column (the fish—
> , the fish-speckled light on the tide the tide the
> sails riding, riding wide, riding the wind
> in wind against isle, against island): *ai! ai!*

It is easy to recognize the connection between this and

> Diana
> Nymphs, white-gathered about her, and the air, air,
> Shaking, air alight with the goddess

and the rest of the beautiful passage from Canto IV. Perfect in sound as this is, it is obvious that Pound has repeated the word "air" to convey the movement of light about the body of the goddess. And her radiant image remains. With Larsson, the images are soon dissolved into words. They are chosen, not so much because they have imposed themselves on his senses, or been dictated by his mind, as because they correspond to a mood. And presently they become merely themes for the variations of an elaborate and extraordinarily fluent verse, in which he has brought his writing as near as any of his contemporaries to the condition of music. His repetitions are musical. He has made his skill his own. And in his most recent poems he no longer reminds us, as he once did, now of Cummings and now of Pound.

Composed over a period of fifteen years, the poems of "Weep and Prepare" record a continuous experience. Since not all of them are dated and Larsson has not arranged them in the order of their composition, it is not possible to say clearly by what stages he has come from an abject despair of the world to a faith that consoles by presupposing the failure of the world. The character of that experience is, however, clear. Its end was already in the beginning. For in those years which we thought of as postwar, in the midst of the jazz bands, Larsson was aware of hands pierced by the nails of the crucifixion. Henceforward, he has little choice; he is impelled toward conversion. For if a man believes that

> the unseeing eye
> of man makes sightless
> light

he must look elsewhere for vision. If the men of peace can offer nothing against war but prayer, then pray they must. For one of Larsson's disposition, there can scarcely have been anywhere to turn but to that cross where agony has the shape of a Man.

The actual world continues to intrude upon his consciousness, but it is not much with him. It never was. His grasp upon it was never strong. It cannot have been altogether hard to let go.

The most that a profane critic can say of the experience recorded in these poems is that it is convincing. Larsson persuades us to believe in his belief. But what we stick at in most religious poetry is not the beliefs, but the emotions. In poetry we can readily suspend our judgment as to the poet's beliefs; we cannot but appraise his emotions. And it is very seldom that we are convinced that what is said to have been felt in devotional poetry was really felt. When we are, as in Donne and Villon, we may get poetry of great intensity and power. But such poets are rare. And in both Donne and Villon, what is impure in their devotions serves as an alloy to strengthen their verse. It is Donne's knowledge of the "condensed dust" that gives such density to his divine poems. Even with death before him, in the extremity of his cry to God to recreate him after death, he recalls that "being sacrilegiously Half wasted with youth's fires, of pride and lust," and, remembering, is not less of a man and more of a poet.

It is really very hard for a poet to be a Christian. For though we think of so many of the great poets as having been religious, the realms of poetry and religion are not the same. The essential relation to Christianity is that of man to eternity, while in poetry the relation that must always appear is that of man to time. And for one whose purpose it is to assert human values, it is not always easy to accept the moral values which the Church, seeing beyond time, places on human conduct. Poetry does not see beyond tomorrow and tomorrow. What is mortal cannot but deplore, and

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must often protest, the edicts of an eternal justice, so that great religious poetry is constantly close to blasphemy. It is a danger which Dante eludes only by being dramatic; Baudelaire and Blake did not avoid it; on the contrary, they were deliberately drawn toward it.

It is not, I should say, a risk for Larsson. His virtues are the Christian ones, of which the first is humility. His will is simple and his heart contrite. He has not the vigor of the great religious poets, nor, though he knows the discovery of death in the seed, their overwhelming sense of mortality. He has a subtle sadness, which is moving, but might be more so if he had not so soon cast off the times in which we live for the timelessness of a saint's contemplation.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

# A Marxist on American History

*The Triumph of American Capitalism, by Louis M. Hacker. New York: Simon and Schuster. 470 pages. $3.*

PRESENT-DAY PROFESSIONAL HISTORIANS are for the most part interested in the past for its own sake. For them the goal of historical research is, as nearly as possible, the recreation of the past as it actually happened. The meaning of events is to be sought in people's utterances and emotions, and the most significant crystallizations of history are therefore those institutions and cultural patterns which express the thoughts and feelings of large numbers of people: religion, art, law, literature, etc. No interpretative canon is required by this approach. Explanations are where you find them, and, more often than not, the actors on the historical stage are taken at their own word unless it can be clearly shown that they are liars.

The Marxist historian, however, has a very different outlook. He is interested in history not primarily for its own sake but because he believes that only through a study of the past is it possible to diagnose the present and plan for the future. Consequently he tries to cut through the outer crust of people's beliefs and emotions to the underlying forces of historical change which he finds in the economic structure of society and the class interests which it generates. Orthodox history is good if it satisfies its readers; Marxist history is right if it provides a valid guide to practical activity.

Mr. Hacker is a Marxist historian. It should, therefore, occasion no surprise that his version of American history as embodied in "The Triumph of American Capitalism" is something very different from the usual run of treatises on the subject. From the outset to (but not including) the last chapter, Mr. Hacker's interest is focused on a rigorous analysis of economic and class forces. His most important themes may be briefly stated. Twice in American history economic development has produced irreconcilable class antagonisms which could be resolved only by resort to arms. The first of these armed struggles was the Revolution, and it resulted in the freeing of American mercantile capitalism from the strangulation of the English colonial system. The second was the Civil War, and from it emerged a triumphant industrial capitalism standing over the prostrate form of Southern-planter capitalism. Mr. Hacker tries to show in detail why these bloody conflicts were inevitable and how the different classes in society reacted to the circumstances which were thrust upon them. On the whole the quality of the work is high. We have in this book the most ambitious attempt yet made to apply historical materialism to the interpretation of American history. Both as an example of method and for the light which it sheds, "The Triumph of American Capitalism" is a notable achievement.

There are in my opinion, however, certain deficiencies in Mr. Hacker's analysis, and by far the most important of these concerns his treatment of northern capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Full consideration of this question would require a great deal more space than is here available; I shall have to confine myself to a few rather general remarks.

Mr. Hacker thinks of Northern capitalism as being predominantly mercantile in character until the Civil War. The war gave the representatives of industrial capitalism, which had hitherto been retarded by the political power of the South, a chance to seize control and put through a political program in their own interests. Thenceforth until the end of the century the industrial capitalists held sway only to be replaced in the seats of power by the rising finance capitalists in the decade before the World War. The basic trouble with this picture, I think, is that it does not take adequate account of the railroad.

Northern capitalism was dominated by the railroad during almost the entire second half of the nineteenth century. Even the crisis of 1857, which Mr. Hacker tries to show was largely an affair of mercantile capital, was almost certainly a product of overinvestment in railroads. In every decade from 1850 to 1890, investment in railroads exceeded that in *all manufacturing industries put together* (including hand and neighborhood industries), and in the fifties, sixties and seventies, it was more than twice as great. Now railroad construction and operation are certainly not functions of mercantile capitalism. The economic historian who called the railroad "the industrial revolution incarnate" was nearer the mark. But, in reality, it must be recognized that the railroad is in a class by itself, and that practically from the outset it is the preserve of finance capital. It is no accident that the giant corporation and the whole elaborate machinery of investment banking evolved in the railroad era. (By 1880 the Pennsylvania Railroad had 13,000 stockholders and total assets of more than $400,000,000!) Nor that Wall Street was a household byword long before Carnegie or Rockefeller made his first million. (Remember that Commodore Vanderbilt died in 1877 leaving a railroad fortune of $105,000,000—an incredible sum for the time.) Moreover, railroads foster from their inception the kind of relationship between capital and the state which is so marked a characteristic of finance capitalism.

Aside from the significance of finance capital in the railroad field even before the Civil War, there is little real evidence to indicate that the war marked a decisive turning point in the quantitative progress of industrial capitalism, though, of course, the crushing of Southern power was a factor of enormous importance in permitting its uninterrupted growth. To be sure, the pace of industrial development quickened in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but it was not until after the depression of the nineties that manufacturing experienced a truly sensational

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boom which made it for the first time the outstanding economic activity of the country. From 1890 to 1910 investment in manufactures (excluding hand and neighborhood) was double that of our whole previous history (including hand and neighborhood). And the greater part of *this* industrial activity, as Mr. Hacker realizes, was carried on under the auspices of finance capital, which had long been preparing itself for the task in the railroad field.

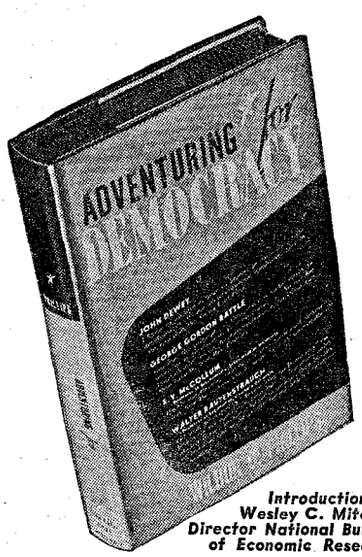
My conclusion from considerations of this sort is that Mr. Hacker's conception of the Civil War as the "Victory of American Industrial Capitalism" requires considerable modification. *All* types of Northern capital benefited from the war. Mercantile capital had an enormous stake in the South and stood to lose heavily from successful secession: industrialists fattened on war orders and finally achieved the protection for which they had long been clamoring. It was, however, finance capital, and particularly the railroad interests, which came off best of all. The Pacific railroad charters, with their princely grants from the public domain, are the most obvious evidence of this. But it is only a little less clear (though Mr. Hacker misses the point entirely) that the methods of financing the war, the establishment of the National Banking System, and later on the adoption of the single gold standard and the resumption of specie payments, were all measures which were devised primarily in the interests of finance capital. Sound money has always been the program of the financial community; industrial entrepreneurs usually benefit from inflation so long as it is not carried to extremes.

In short, Wall Street very early achieved a dominant economic position as a result of the Civil War and the unique importance of the railroad in American development. This position in economic affairs it has never relinquished. When manufacturing grew to full stature, it was under the wing of Wall Street. And when utilities in their turn occupied the center of the stage, even though they were largely local in character, Wall Street found a way of taking them to its heart. On the other side of the picture, national politics, substantially ever since the Civil War, has been a long and none too successful struggle to curb the enormous power of finance capital.

This brings me to what I regard as by far the weakest part of Mr. Hacker's book, namely, the conclusion. Here, in place of a prognosis based on rigorous analysis of economic and class forces, such as characterizes earlier parts of the book, we find an incongruous note of wishful idealism. Everything is going to be all right, he assures us, because of the strength of the "American tradition" of freedom and equality. In other words, Mr. Hacker, for reasons best known to himself, has abandoned Marxism just at the point where it begins to serve as a potential guide to action. He would have done better to stop at the end of the nineteenth century, leaving his readers to draw their own conclusions about the future.

Finally, a word about the first two chapters which comprise the introduction. These, it seems to me, give every indication of having been hastily thrown together. The writing is sloppy, the thinking rambling and confused. In a new edition Mr. Hacker would do well to drop them out entirely.

PAUL M. SWEEZY


Introduction by Wesley C. Mitchell Director National Bureau of Economic Research

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# A Reader's List

DE GAULLE AND THE COMING INVASION OF GERMANY, by James Marlowe (Dutton, $1). Without doubt General de Gaulle is a patriot who, if his theories of a mobile defense had been adopted in time, might have saved France. Other counsel prevailed. As to why, this tract by a British journalist has not much more to offer than statements like this: "General de Gaulle is one of those extraordinary soldiers who, in books and on the battlefield, has always been proved right."

THE UNITED STATES AND A NEW WORLD ORDER, by Graeme K. Howard (Scribner's, $2). Basing his argument on the undeniable prospect of a world order changed radically and soon, this writer proposes coöperative regionalism. Powerful states to equip themselves with nearby satellite states, each group to arrange a rational exchange of goods and to lump their defense bills. Example: a Federation of American States stretching from the North Pole through Colombia and Venezuela. Uncle Sam to issue invitations—but not the grim sort that Herr Hitler sends.

BEYOND TEARS, by Irmgard Litten (Alliance, $2.75). In pre-Nazi Germany, Hans Litten was a brilliant young lawyer who, while presenting claims for two victims of storm troopers, cross-examined Hitler. "Beyond Tears" is his mother's story of her attempt to save him from torture and death in Hitler's concentration camp. Told with amazing restraint, it is one of the most shocking documents yet to come out of Germany.

MY SHADOW IN THE SUN, by Frances Davis (Carrick and Evans, $2.75). A vivid personal history by the only newspaperwoman at the Spanish civil war front. Not a situation factually reported as by a Gedye or Gunther, but an excellent behind-the-scenes account of foreign correspondents at work. Journalists on the job: Edgar Mowrer, Edmond Taylor, John Whitaker.

## Fiction

HESTER ROON, by Norah Lofts (Knopf, $2.50). Smooth eighteenth-century excitement. Hester, at twenty, has served as scullery maid, been deported from England, lived through a slave revolt in the West Indies and found a man. You can't expect much more of one heroine, but, as a matter of fact, you get it.

JOURNEY THROUGH TIME, by Larry Barretto (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). A timely novel about an American family living backwards through their old memories while traveling in Europe, and facing the outbreak of the war. The clash of ideas between the son and his parents is caught impressively, although the much discussed problems of war and pacifism come off rather vaguely.

THIRTY ACRES, by Ringuet (Macmillan, $2.50). A broad, descriptive pastoral about life in a small Quebec community, built around a typical French-Canadian farmer whose inability to understand the world outside his fences clashes tragically with modern times. An informing, cool novel, written in the solid, classical tradition.

HE AND HIS, by Reginald Carter (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50). A British squire's daringly modern ideas about women and marriage, set against a typical Victorian background and developed in the detailed, thoughtful manner of the nineteenth-century novel. Slow and competent, with clever and often brilliant dialogue.

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JOHN PEALE BISHOP'S collected poems will be published next spring.

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